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ribes win the gaming vote

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California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

Voices of the Voters:

"Candidates push too hard. There's too much negative campaigning. They could do more good if they were more positive. The ads are discouraging. They think we are idiots. The ads on the initiatives made it hard to find the truth. I felt my vote was crucial. This was a reaction to the sourness of the last few years of the Wilson administration, the divisiveness. It's really disgusting. There are so many better places to spend that kind of money. We gotta keep voting 'til we get it right! If you listen to the hoola in the ads . . ."

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DECEMBER 1998
VOLUME XXIX, NUMBER 12

California JOURNAL

STATENET publications
Independent analysis of politics and government

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Upfront umbrage

Lessons of history. If you're looking for the central cautionary tenet of the first 100 days of the Gray Davis administration, we can name that tune in four words: "gays in the military." President Bill Clinton's eagerness to fill what seemed to be an easy campaign promise on his first day in office boomeranged dramatically, prompting conservative clucking that Clinton the liberal was "out of the closet," so to speak. But nobody learns from mistakes — his own and others' — better than Gray Davis. Thus his immediate focus on education, the issue universally seen as residing at the top of the voters' priority list. He appointed former California State University Chancellor Barry Munitz as his transition chief, a choice almost universally praised on both sides of the aisle. And he created a task force that included not only the heads of the state's two teachers unions but a visible proponent of charter schools. Some Republicans, of course, insist this is all "wolf in sheep's clothing" sort of stuff. But based on early indications, Republicans looking to out Davis as a liberal will get no help from the governor-elect.

Grudge match. The phrase most often used to describe the mood at GOP Election Night headquarters in Newport Beach was "shell-shocked." Still, there's no such thing as a dull party when Bob Dornan is in attendance. The GOP's unhappy warrior was in full dudgeon, expelling enough toxic rhetoric to defoliate a rain forest. The only thing the ever-gracious Dornan didn't do was concede defeat to Representative Loretta Sanchez (D-Santa Ana), who cleaned his clock in their $6.7 million rematch. During the course of Dornan's address, a Matt Fong supporter (apparently interested in getting out of the building by Thursday) began chanting "Fong, Fong, Fong." Dornan's son, Bob Jr., responded with one of recorded history's most ironic lines: "Hey, show some class." As they say on "N.Y.P.D. Blue," a scuffle ensued, as the Dornanites began shoving the Fongies. Dornan's daughter Kate was swept into the scuffle and when a CHP officer pulled her aside, her boyfriend picked a fight with the officer. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, the boyfriend, Pete Caroline, was wrestled down, handcuffed, and later led to the pokey by Newport Beach police. The rest of the crowd tried to divert attention from the set-to by singing a song and, since it was a gathering of hardcore Republicans, there was really only one choice: "God Bless America." Probably not the first choice of former Senator Rob Hurtt and former Assemblyman Jim Morrissey, whose re-election bids crashed on the rocky shoals of Dornan's ego. From their perspective, a more appropriate tune might have been "Hit The Road, Jack."

Nightmare scenario. When he saw it, Republican Assembly candidate Chris Mitchum probably went "postal." A mailer sent out on his behalf by the California Correctional Peace Officers Association was supposed to proclaim "Chris Mitchum ... a criminal's worst nightmare." However, the designers of the piece forgot to account for the postal service's paste-on UPC coding, which is attached to the bottom of post card mail. When it arrived in some mailboxes, two words and part of a third were missing. The result: "Chris Mitchum ... a criminal". Needless to say, not the message they'd hoped for. Since it was an independent expenditure and not under its control, the Mitchum camp could only stand by and sigh. It's just one of those things. Luckily for the U.S. Postal Service he was an Assembly candidate. They'd better hope he doesn't run for Congress some day.

Voices of the Voters

In this age of echoing, ricocheting punditry, much of it very bleak and flat-out wrong, the voice that refreshes is often none other than that of The Voter. With the chorus of annoying know-it-alls growing ever louder as Election Day arrived, we sought respite by heading for the polls, where we found an outlook-straightening reality check *(see CJ cover)*.

Overwhelmingly, voters said they felt like they were being mistaken for ninnies willing to line up and march behind whatever candidate or group bought up the most TV ad time. They resented in particular the campaign commercials that oversimplified the complex dynamics behind the ballot propositions. This made their jobs harder, voters said, requiring them to sweep away the rhetoric to find the essence of accuracy that would inform their votes.

The remarks of Denise O'Conner of Sacramento hit the bulls-eye that many complaints aimed for: "The ads on the initiatives made it hard to tell what the truth was."

Said Dave Koceja, "I was really aware that, on all these propositions, both sides couldn't be telling the truth. Both sides were lying...You have to put all the garbage aside."

Mark Mayfield's comments were also representative: "There's a disconnection between the people doing the ads, the talking heads, and the average people watching. The people who thought these ads up think we're all eight-year-olds."

Others invited politicians to find something upbeat to say, rather than harping on in-your-face negatives. "The candidates pushed too hard," said Sharon Mabry. "They could do more good if they were more positive."

You want positive? We found it in the breath of fresh air coming from a first-time voter, 18-year-old California State University student David Sommers. Having just cast his ballot, he said, "It was really exciting."

Now *that's* refreshing.

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Independent analysis of politics and government JOURNAL

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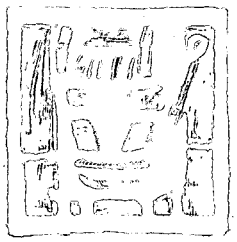
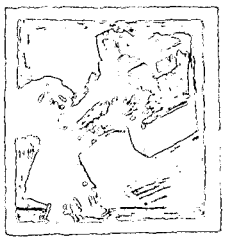
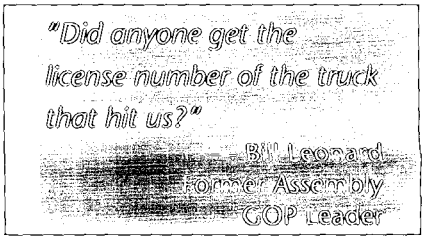
The final tally. "Breathtaking." That was how one campaign finance expert described the monetary maelstrom that was this year's political season. The massive $86 million campaign over the Indian gaming initiative, Proposition 5, is only the beginning (see story, page 44). Two other initiatives drew campaign spending in the $40 million range — Proposition 9 (electricity deregulation) and Proposition 10 (the tobacco tax). The "Size Matters" award for the largest single contribution probably goes to Philip Morris. On one day in late October, the tobacco giant added $6 million to the coffers of the "No on 10" committee. It didn't work — the measure passed. And what was the smallest contribution? Well, one contender could be the duly reported contribution received by unsuccessful Republican Assembly candidate Sam Crump from fellow Republican Margie Handley. The donation: Two large ostrich eggs and a framed copy of the U.S. Constitution. Total fair market value: $63. Seems Handley, who owns an ostrich ranch, did a little event on Crump's behalf at said ranch, and the items were raffle prizes she donated to the cause. According to a Crump aide, the eggs themselves were quite a deal — each one feeds 12 (presumably when scrambled, as opposed to when poached) and when hollowed out, the shells can be made to resemble dinosaur eggs. Great for large families! Sure, it may not measure up to the $6 million dumped into the "No on 10" campaign by Philip Morris. But then, when's the last time a politician got a contribution that could be scrambled up to serve 12?





Wrong number. If you've ever had to endure the ordeal of having your phone number be similar to that of a radio contest line, you are feeling Kim Alexander's pain. The director of the non-partisan California Voter Foundation recently found herself fielding calls intended for a group called the California Voter Registration Project. Seems the 411 operators have just been giving callers the name that sounds closest. Bad luck. Turns out the California Voter Registration Project was a massive registration drive currently under investigation in six California counties for signing up illegal or non-existent voters. "We always suspected this was some strange group because we were always getting their calls. We'd get calls from creditors, who were owed money," Alexander said. Ever watchful of her group's name, Alexander burned up the line to Pacific Bell when the story broke about the investigation. Not surprising. For a group like hers, this is the political equivalent of receiving wrong number calls for a massage parlor. Pac Bell promised to send its operators an advisory clarifying the distinction.

Room at the top. With the GOP all but skunked at the statewide level in this election year, an intriguing question has arisen: Who is the leader of the California Republican Party? Charles Quackenbush? Bill Jones? Richard Riordan? Chuck Norris? Well how's this for a candidate: George W. Bush. According to exit polls, the Texas governor got nearly half of the Latino vote in his landslide reelection victory this month. He got it, in part, by running as the "anti-Pete," rejecting Governor Pete Wilson's harsh immigration rhetoric in favor of a more expansive approach. As an early favorite for the GOP presidential nomination, Bush is likely to have California on his fund-raising itinerary next year. If California is able to work out its open primary problems and give meaning to the early March primary, Bush could be a whole lot more visible in California in the months to come. That would be bad news for Wilson's presidential prospects. It also would be bad news for California Democrats, who will have to explain away a GOP governor that embraces diversity rather than division.



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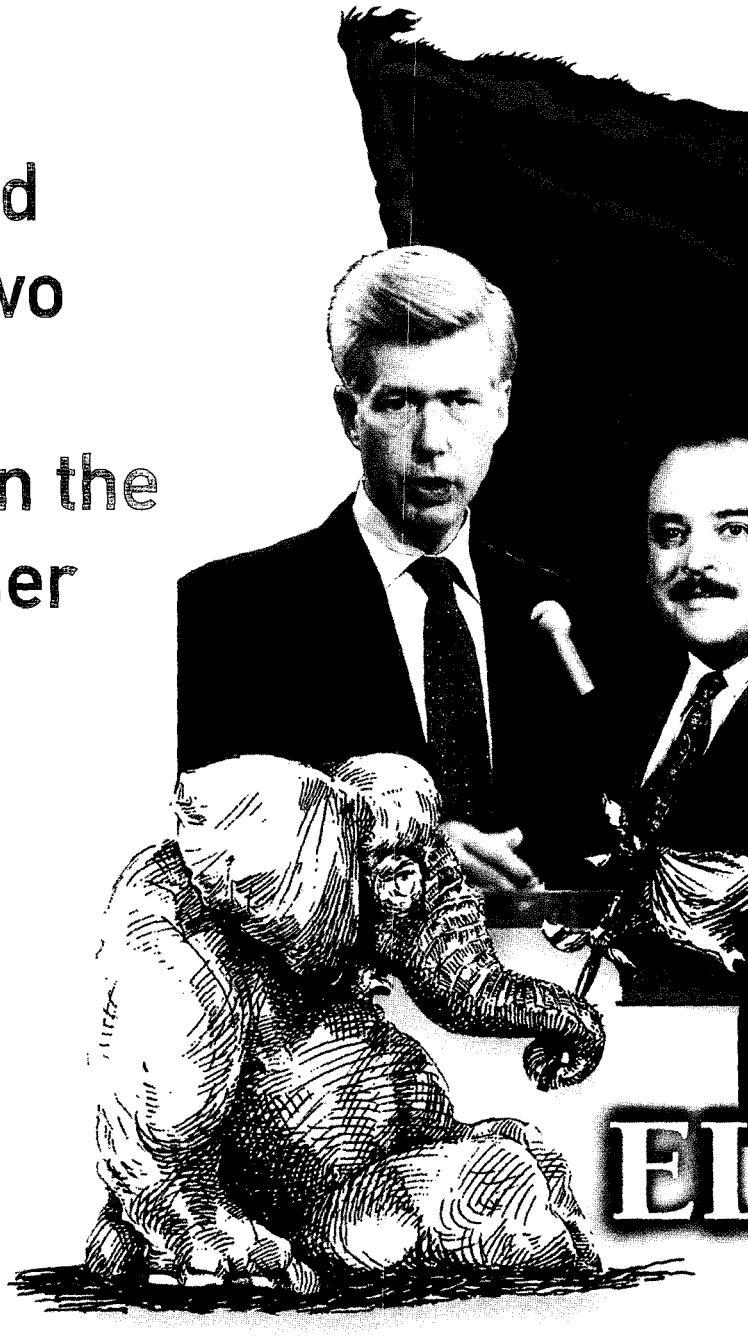
The Republican bust

The Grand Old Party doesn't look so grand after losing all but two statewide races and dropping five seats in the Assembly and another in the state Senate.



What a difference four years can make.

In 1994 the California Republican Party swept to victory by successfully exploiting voter dissatisfaction and anger. The GOP re-elected a governor and an attorney general, captured the offices of secretary of state, treasurer and insurance commissioner, nearly toppled a popular U.S. senator and elected a majority in the Assembly for the first time in more than two decades. When Election '98 ended, that same Republican Party — so recently triumphant — lay in shambles, the breadth and depth of its debacle visible everywhere:

- Republicans were pummeled in contests for governor and U.S. Senate (see pages 8 and 10).
- Incumbent Republican Secretary of State Bill Jones nearly was kayoed by a neophyte whose only experience in government was as a staffer to Vice President Al Gore and whose only other run for office was for an obscure north coast congressional seat in 1996 (see page 13).
- Incumbent GOP Insurance Commissioner Charles Quackenbush raised $1.8 million. His Democratic opponent, Diane Martinez, raised $51,000 and campaigned from the back of a station wagon. Quackenbush was held to under 50 percent of the vote (see page 15).
- Martinez outpolled GOP gubernatorial hopeful Dan Lungren statewide by some 300,000 votes; he outspent her 400-to-one.
- Lungren managed 100,000 fewer votes in Los Angeles County than did Sherman Block, the four-term county sheriff who died a week before the election.
- Assembly Republicans dropped five seats, including two incumbents, and very nearly lost two more seats that were not decided until absentees had been counted. The result gave Democrats a 48-32 margin and makes it very difficult for the GOP to gain back the house in 2000.
- Senate Republicans saw their numbers dwindle to 15 with the defeat of former Minority Leader Rob Hurtt in Orange County. With Democrats now holding a 25-15 margin, it appears impossible for Republicans to gain control in 2000, thus giving Democrats command over both houses and the governorship for reapportionment.

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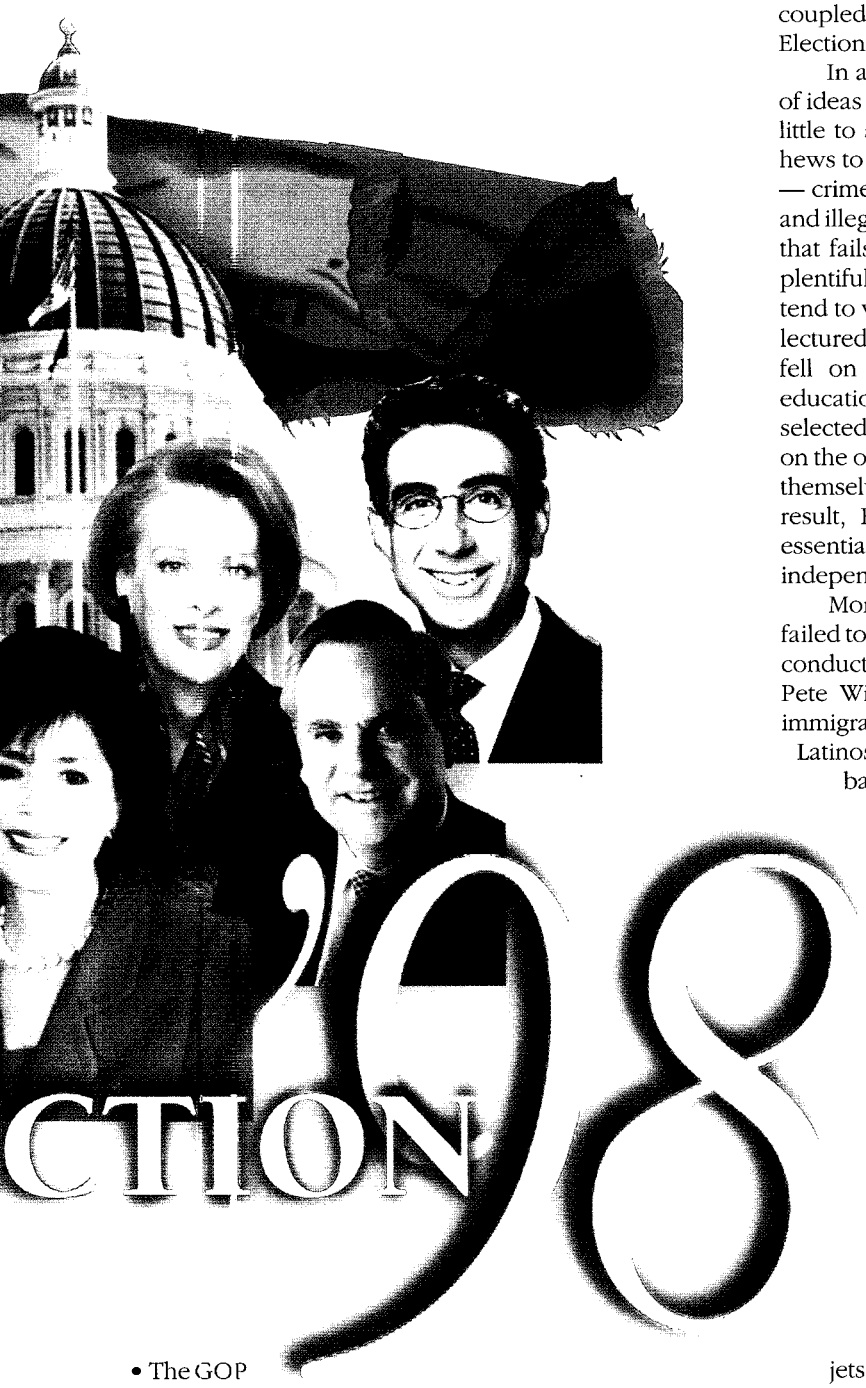
# of 1998



• The GOP congressional delegation took two open seats away from Democrats but failed to mount any notable challenge to vulnerable Democratic incumbents.

Examination of the elephant's corpse reveals more than a few self-inflicted wounds. To borrow a line from Walt Kelly: "We have met the enemy, and he is us."

First, too many Republicans saw too few reasons to vote. Campaigns for governor and U.S. Senate failed to energize the faithful, and no burning issues motivated GOP turnout. When the election season began, it was assumed that chunks of the Democratic base — demoralized over scandals involving President Bill Clinton and historically disinclined to vote in non-presidential years — would sit on the sidelines. But Democrats, backed by a resurgent labor movement, invested heavily in get-out-the-vote efforts that, coupled with Republican no-shows, gave them an edge on Election Day.

In a larger sense, the Republican Party appeared bereft of ideas that appealed to a majority of California voters, with little to say or offer a complacent electorate that doggedly hews to the middle of the road. Recent GOP "go-to" themes — crime, taxes and wedge issues such as affirmative action and illegal immigration — form a motif of fear and discontent that fails to resonate when the economy is good, jobs are plentiful and crime rates are down. On social issues, they tend to wag fingers at an electorate that does not want to be lectured. And their candidates this year more often than not fell on the wrong side of front-burner issues such as education, health-care reform, gun control, abortion and, in selected venues, the environment. Democratic candidates, on the other hand, fashioned a centrist message, then lashed themselves to it relentlessly throughout the campaign. As a result, Republicans held their base but failed to attract essential crossover votes from Democrats or the support of independents.

More important to its long-term prospects, the party failed to gain ground among ethnic voters indignant over the conduct of past campaigns. In 1994, Republican Governor Pete Wilson ran a divisive campaign centered on illegal immigration, and the antagonistic tenor of that effort angered Latinos and Asians alike — many of whom traditionally backed Republicans. In 1996, Wilson and others campaigned against affirmative action, which helped motivate African-American voters in 1998. As a result, support for GOP candidates evaporated in most ethnic communities, despite the best efforts of Lungren, U.S. Senate hopeful Matt Fong and others. Not only did Lungren and Fong fare poorly among ethnic voters, Latinos especially helped turn the tide in several legislative and congressional districts. With Latinos accounting for 13 percent of the overall electorate — their largest share ever — the GOP ceded a large chunk of votes to Democrats without much of a struggle.

After 1994, Democrats saw a silver lining among the debris — increasing numbers of ethnic voters who could be motivated to vote Democratic. Today, that silver lining has become a glow across the landscape. But it is hard to see anything positive for Republicans in the flotsam and jetsam of 1998. Did the party hear the wake-up call? Does it recognize that it may have drifted out of touch with the electorate, and that the likely California voter is different than he or she was a decade — or even four years — ago? And given the results of 1998, who is the titular head of the party in California; around whom does it rally?

Assembly Republicans did elect a Latino as minority leader after the election, but the GOP must do more to convince ethnic voters that the party has a welcome mat on its porch rather than a trapdoor. Otherwise, with reapportionment looming, the bust of 1998 stands to haunt the GOP well into the 21st century.

— A.G. Block

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Key

Parties
D = Democrat
R = Republican
AI = American Independent
G = Green
L = Libertarian
NL = Natural Law
PF = Peace and Freedom
RF = Reform
NP = Nonpartisan

Other
* = incumbent

Winners are listed in **boldface**. Some results and some vote totals may change due to absentee ballots that remained uncounted at press time. The district-by-district vote totals included in this issue were current as of November 12, 1998.

(56) = the percent of the vote, rounded to the nearest whole number. As a result, some district or statewide totals may add up to slightly more than 100 percent.

Voter registration numbers for individual districts provided by the Secretary of State's Office are current as of October 5, 1998.

Governor

Gray Davis (D)	**4,625,993**	**(58)**
Dan Lungren (R)	3,061,111	(38)
Nathan E. Johnson (AI)	36,196	(0)
Dan Hamburg (G)	98,191	(1)
Steve W. Kubby (L)	70,175	(1)
Harold H. Bloomfield (NL)	29,572	(0)
Gloria Estela La Riva (PF)	56,240	(1)

When Gray Davis was traversing the state in his final pre-election campaign swing, journalists accompanying him on the road were rewarded with a special laminated accreditation card. On one side was a conventional photo and campaign logo. On the back, however, the Davis campaign exacted a measure of good-natured retribution from those same journalists, many of whom had, either publicly or privately, proclaimed him to be "political roadkill" as recently as spring of this year.

The campaign swing was proclaimed "The Roadkill Comeback Tour."

It is rare indeed when an inside campaign joke actually understates the magnitude of a leading candidate's standing. But truth be told, Davis' remarkable 20-point victory in this year's governors race was far more than just a comeback story. This "roadkill" not only scraped himself up off the road, he climbed into a semi and flattened everyone who got in his path.

Davis' 58 percent to 38 percent obliteration of Republican Dan Lungren isn't the biggest in California history, but it definitely ranks in the Hall of Fame. The 20-point margin is the largest in an open-seat contest in 40 years, dating back to the 1958 contest between then-Attorney General Pat Brown and office-swapping Senator William Knowland. Lungren is only the third Republican this century to get less than 40 percent of the vote, and the only sub-40 Republican in an open-seat election. According to the *Los Angeles Times* exit poll, Davis beat Lungren among men as well as women, whites as well as non-whites, and in every income level from under $20,000 to over $75,000. Lungren's final tally was 300,000 votes below that of losing insurance commissioner

Davis

Lungren

candidate Diane Martinez, the lowest-performing Democrat on the statewide ticket. In Los Angeles County, Lungren got fewer votes than Sherman Block, the incumbent sheriff running for another term, who died a week before the election.

For Davis, the victory did more than just quiet the media Cassandras who'd written him off. It was the ultimate vindication of roughly a quarter-century of political spade work, undertaken with methodical efficiency in the face of an establishment that had, at times, dismissed him as the quintessential bridesmaid. It validated a campaign strategy and a campaign team that, during its salad days last spring, spent most of its time convincing backers not to jump ship. And, in beating Lungren, Davis earned a full measure of satisfying revenge for a decade of derision from conservative Republicans unable to see past his pedigree as chief of staff to former Governor Jerry Brown.

The first hint that 1998 would be a Gray year in California came with Davis' remarkable primary win last June. Matched up against two wealthier and splashier rivals — millionaire Congresswoman Jane Harman and mega-millionaire airline tycoon Al Checchi — Davis rode to victory on the strength of a timely message ("Experience Money Can't Buy") and a big assist from organized labor, which had mobilized to defeat Governor Pete Wilson's union dues initiative, Proposition 226 (see *CJ*, July 1998). Perhaps most important for the fall, Davis polled ahead of Lungren in California's first open gubernatorial primary and pulled down a healthy percentage of the Republican vote.

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While GOP spin doctors tried to pass this off as mischief-making by conservatives eager for a Davis-Lungren match-up, party insiders smelled trouble, particularly when Lungren's primary-night victory speech suggested he would try to make Davis' past association with Brown the key issue in the campaign. "They're going to have to do better than that," noted GOP pollster Arnold Steinberg in a radio interview on primary night.

During the summer months and into autumn, Davis spent most of his time raising money, milking his post-primary surge into a distinct, though not overwhelming, financial edge. Davis used the edge to begin running low-key, positive campaign commercials. The summer doldrums were punctuated only by the first in an unprecedented series of four televised debates between the candidates. Many considered Davis' debate performance to be the low point of the campaign, but it also produced a problem for Lungren. In his zeal to paint Davis as a closet death-penalty foe, Lungren was caught contorting Davis' record in the Assembly. News reports savaged Lungren for cooking the record, reports the Democrat's campaign gleefully translated into a tough attack ad.

From that point on, the Lungren campaign was unable to gain any traction. Obsessed with "unmasking" Davis as a liberal, Lungren nitpicked Davis on crime for weeks on end, despite obvious signs the voters were more interested in hearing about education. Lungren tried to play the "character" card in the wake of President Bill Clinton's admission of an "inappropriate" relationship with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky. But the straight-arrow Davis proved an elusive target on that front as well, especially after his campaign ran a spot emphasizing his Vietnam War record. Lungren had skipped Vietnam on student and medical deferments.

While Lungren's effort was misfiring, Davis was hitting on all cylinders, combining issue-related advertising with sharp attacks on Lungren's conservative congressional voting record. In late September, the influential California Correctional Peace Officers Association broke from its past support of GOP gubernatorial candidates and gave Davis its endorsement and a $2 million independent expenditure. Lungren's team had been so sure the endorsement was going its way that its media buyer and pollsters had already begun working out advertising strategies with CCPOA's political consultant. The CCPOA effort on Davis' behalf helped keep him relatively close in the GOP-leaning Central Valley. Lungren won it, but not by nearly enough.

By the time the campaign turned for home, Davis was cruising. Early October polling showed him up by nine points, a level that had remained relatively stable throughout much of the campaign. Core Democratic donors, such as organized labor and the state's trial bar, were joined on the Davis bandwagon by business and high-tech donors, who offered what Davis campaign manager Garry South described as "cover your ass" money. The Davis coffers were so fat that the candidate was able to drop $1 million into an eleventh-hour TV buy two days before the election. Lungren spent the closing days of the campaign pleading for the GOP base to rise up, his ads bleating out catch phrases like "union bosses" and "frivolous lawsuits" to energize the party faithful.

Had outside observers been given a glimpse at the yawning quality gap between the Lungren and Davis campaigns, it would not have been difficult to predict a Democratic victory. But not even the Davis team itself reckoned on administering so complete a shellacking in an open-seat contest. Part of the explanation for the race's one-sidedness rests with two "X" factors — Bill Clinton and Pete Wilson. Political consultants of all stripes now mostly agree that voters across the nation, and in California especially, had concluded that Clinton's admitted adultery and apparent perjury were less offensive than the steamroller being driven by his congressional inquisitors. Consultants advising the Assembly Democrats say their polling showed a Democratic surge as early as a month before the election, and the momentum continued to build as a last-minute, GOP anti-Clinton hate ad further fueled anti-GOP sentiment. The Wilson effect was seen in the energy with which some of the core Democratic constituencies approached the election. Latinos, teachers, African Americans and organized labor had all been targets of Wilson's brand of wedge politics, and all were energized to vote and volunteer in unprecedented numbers.

Perhaps more important than tactics, atmospherics or even ideology, however, were the contrasting styles and personalities of the candidates themselves. Here again, pre-campaign conventional wisdom was a poor barometer for the ultimate result. Lungren, the presumptive "governor in waiting" for most of the 1990s, revealed himself to be a deeply flawed candidate — high-handed, diffident and politically tone-deaf. Eschewing the collective wisdom of four straight Republican gubernatorial victories, Lungren opted for a homegrown campaign inner circle consisting of his brother, his father, his wife and himself. The candidate seemed a captive not only of his own ideological rigidity but also of the off-the-rack liberal bashing that no longer carries much weight outside of Republican state conventions. And Lungren was surprisingly unappealing on television, as even his advertisements sometimes carried a lecturing tone. Even in defeat, Lungren seemed stuck in neutral, delivering a lengthy concession speech that struck many as self-serving.

While Lungren's kinetic qualities clearly turned off voters, the seemingly bland Davis was a revelation on television, his pale countenance and silver hair coming across as comforting and cool. In the debates, Davis leavened his serious discussions with flashes of self-deprecating humor, an appealing counterpoint to Lungren's unsmiling archness. While both men sport king-sized egos, Davis' somehow came across as self-confidence, while Lungren's seemed to smack of arrogance. Most importantly, Davis commanded the political center on a variety of issues from abortion rights to gun control to education. Lungren's "I am what I am" approach got him points for honesty, but his refusal to offer even a spoonful of sugar with his conservatism gave Davis plenty of running room, and he used every bit of it, eventually running away from the field.

Given the expansiveness of Davis' victory, the Green Party campaign of former Representative Dan Hamburg didn't live up to its "spoiler" billing. Though he scored better than any of the other minor party candidates on the ballot, Hamburg's 1.3 percent of the vote fell short even of the 1.6 percent he garnered in the June primary. In 1998, it was clear the voters' color of choice wasn't Green — it was Gray.

— *Steve Scott*

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U.S. Senate

Boxer (D*)	**3,968,354**	**(53)**
Fong (R)	3,197,846	(43)
Perrin (AI)	49,837	(1)
Brown (L)	85,370	(1)
Rees (NL)	42,115	(1)
Beltran (PF)	44,130	(1)
Erich (RFM)	74,446	(1)

The re-election of Barbara Boxer: Inspired by Harry Truman. Script by Lewis Carroll. Set designs by Salvador Dali.

The U.S. Senate campaign of 1998 promised to pit an extremist against a moderate, and it did — although the reflection in the glass was nobody's version of reality. Before it began, the incumbent — Democrat Barbara Boxer — was pegged as the extremist by no less an authority than the *National Journal*, a highly respected magazine that designated her the most liberal member of the United States Senate. By the time the campaign ended, she had been swept back into office as the centrist – while barely moving a philosophical inch. She accomplished this pirouette-in-place by running an aggressive, well-financed and well-timed campaign — and by having an opponent, Republican state Treasurer Matt Fong, who at times seemed to be competing in another contest.

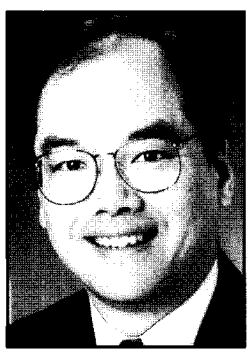
At the outset, the lefty label fortified the accepted notion that Boxer was beatable. Encumbered by a liberal record in a state where voters cleave resolutely to the political center and bedeviled by negatives that outstripped her positives in poll after poll, the pugnacious 57-year-old Marin County native looked ready for the exit door. Her record on issues such as the death penalty, crime, taxes and spending for social programs appealed to narrow constituencies and provided so many targets of opportunity that many Republicans considered her a virtual walkover. Toast.

In addition, history worked against her. Throughout this century, elections held in the sixth year of a presidency have been disastrous for the president's party. And then there was this particular president, Bill Clinton, whose sexual habits were fireballed across the nation in the form of a scandal involving former White House intern Monica Lewinsky — a squalid mess culminating in an X-rated report to Congress from Special Prosecutor Kenneth Starr and impeachment hearings in the House of Representatives that unfolded as the election season began. Beltway pundits declared *l'affaire Clinton* had so demoralized the president's party that Democratic voter turnout likely would evaporate.

All of this fed the impression that Republicans couldn't lose. They merely had to nominate a decent candidate — preferably a moderate — raise a barrel of cash and concoct a strategy that focused the election on Boxer herself.

Republicans managed two out of three. They nominated Fong (see *CJ*, July 1998), son of former Democratic Secretary of State March Fong Eu and an overly cautious moderate not prone to taking risks. And although outspent by Boxer, they raised enough cash to wage a viable challenge.

Boxer



Fong

What they did not get was anything resembling a coherent campaign.

After the primary, Boxer ceded the early months to Fong by going silent through most of the summer and by her less-than-stellar response to the Clinton scandal. After being criticized for not excoriating Clinton over the Lewinsky matter – as she had former Oregon Senator Bob Packwood and Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas for similar behavior — Boxer compounded the problem by half-heartedly scolding Clinton on the Senate floor.

Fong, however, failed to profit, instead promoting himself in so-called "soft" ads that never mentioned Boxer or her record. Unfortunately, the public had yet to tune in, and this early effort dribbled out into a political void. When the campaign officially kicked off after Labor Day, Boxer and Fong stood virtually even in most polls, as they had since the primary. By October, despite a pair of televised debates, many voters had yet to realize that a U.S. Senate contest was on tap in California. It was like the hush of 1939-40, when Europe was at war but nobody was shooting.

The calm ended in October when Boxer uncoiled her campaign around relentless television ads that smacked into Fong with the ferocity of a blitzkrieg. There was nothing soft about Boxer's effort; no squishy spots designed to tell her story. Boxer wasn't interested in telling her story. She was interested in telling her version of Fong's story.

At the time, few voters had an opinion of Fong, and those who did viewed him favorably, with his positive image outweighing his negatives four- and five-to-one in most statewide polls. By the time Boxer got done with him, however, moderate Matt Fong stood somewhere to the right of Vlad the Impaler, and his negatives had eclipsed his positives in nearly every poll. She accomplished this dramatic — and for Fong, fatal — turnaround by winning the air war.

Boxer chose the themes that dominated the campaign: gun control, the environment, education, HMO reform and abortion. Then, she defined Fong on those issues. In the process, she outspent him on TV two-to-one during the first half of October. And although her claims against Fong did not always square with reality, the ads kept her challenger on the defensive and deflected the spotlight from issues

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potentially harmful to Boxer.

Boxer's commercials on gun control declared the 44-year-old Fong the gun lobby's favorite candidate. Ads on health care portrayed him as opposing HMO reform. Ads on the environment characterized him as eager to locate a low-grade nuclear waste dump in the California desert. Ads on abortion insisted he was committed to overturning *Roe v. Wade*. Ads on education warned that he was willing to issue vouchers for private schools at the expense of the public school system. Fong responded in kind only to the abortion ad, leaving the others on TV hour after hour — unchallenged.

Not that Fong didn't rip back, but he did so in speeches heard by few voters. In fact, he seemed to run two separate campaigns. He aggressively vilified Boxer's record and ads on the stump, but on television — where the bulk of voters learned about the campaign and its contestants — he remained an uncharismatic talking head trying to explain his core beliefs. It was a strategy that baffled some Republicans and infuriated others, because he failed to thump on those points of Boxer's public record that could have pushed her image to the left.

Among the most puzzled was the Boxer campaign. "We have been tied or slightly ahead in every poll for six to eight months," Boxer campaign manager Rose Kapolczynski said a few days before the election. "And we have run like we're 10 points behind. It seems as if Fong is running as though he is 10 points ahead and doesn't want to blow a lead by doing something risky."

But Fong consultant Sal Russo defended the soft approach, arguing that his ads and hers were tested in focus groups and that Fong's ads worked. Apparently, Fong needed a different set of focus groups, for Boxer's attack ads succeeded in defining both candidates, positioning her to catch the centrist tide sweeping through the election.

As the campaign careened toward its Appomattox, Fong imploded. He finally hit back at Boxer, but instead of attacking her record, he put his mother before the camera to scold Boxer for going negative. Then it was revealed that Fong had given $50,000 to the Traditional Values Coalition – a conservative group that is anti-abortion and anti-gay. The donation angered gay Republicans and pro-choice Republican women, and his explanation for the gift – and accompanying statement of support for gays – then ticked off conservatives.

Boxer, meanwhile, stayed on message and hammered her issues home to a receptive electorate. The result: The Senate's most liberal member won because she appealed to the middle. In the process, she trumped Fong by nearly half-a-million votes in Los Angeles and another half-a-million in the Bay Area. She even captured San Joaquin and Merced counties in the Central Valley, of all places, and San Bernardino County in the heavily Republican Inland Empire. By contrast, in 1994 Dianne Feinstein lost the latter to Michael Huffington by 80,000 votes. Boxer ran strong among women and nearly even among men. Latinos heavily supported her, and she ran virtually even among Asians — although Chinese-American voters gave Fong 72 percent of their tally.

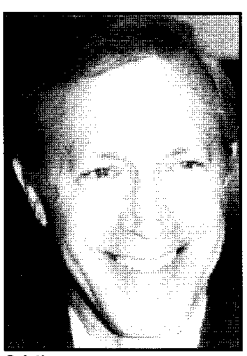
Observers seeking an historical precedent for this contest may have to look back 50 years, to another Alice-in-Wonderland election where another Democrat was thought to be vulnerable to just about any Republican not on a respirator. But President Harry Truman proved the feisty campaigner who fought to win in 1948. His opponent, New York Governor Tom Dewey, played not to lose.

– A.G. Block

Attorney General

Lockyer (D)	**3,931,083**	**(52)**
Stirling (R)	3,233,222	(42)
Templin (AI)	184,634	(2)
Farina (L)	142,836	(2)
Evans (PF)	138,222	(2)

Lockyer



Stirling

Not only was Dan Lungren swept away by the Democratic political tide that engulfed California this election season, but that tide is likely to erode much of Lungren's legacy at the state's Department of Justice, which Lungren ran as attorney general for eight years. Any chance of Lungren's stamp lingering among the state's highest levels of civil and criminal law enforcement evaporated when state Senator Bill Lockyer defeated Lungren's chief deputy, Republican Dave Stirling, by a surprisingly wide 10-point margin.

Although the attorney general is one of the state's most constitutionally powerful positions, the race languished below the radar screens of most media right along with other down-ticket races. That forced the two candidates to take open jabs at each other, venting what seemed to be some genuine acrimony between the two while both tried to break through for some major media attention. Stirling tried to force Lockyer to answer questions about whether he used drugs while he was in the Legislature, but his efforts went for naught. Not only did Lockyer refuse to answer the questions, but while Stirling was busy protesting, the more liberal Lockyer was wrestling the crime issue away from the second-highest ranking law enforcement official in the state. Taking a page out of the 1996 Clinton playbook, Lockyer honed the larger issue of crime into a laser-focused discussion of assault weapons, and relentlessly pounded Stirling and Lungren for not aggressively enforcing the state law banning them.

Ironically, perhaps the biggest news in this race was made by a politician far removed form Sacramento: Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan. The Republican mayor crossed party lines to endorse Lockyer, temporarily plucking the race from the political ether just in time to give Lockyer

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a momentum-builder heading into the campaign's final week.

Lockyer's victory presents new challenges for the man once dubbed the most powerful Democrat in California. A consummate back-room deal maker and legislative insider, Lockyer now finds himself a member of the executive branch and manager of the department's 5,000 employees, including nearly 1,000 attorneys. While Lockyer is known for his behind-the-scenes deal-making, he is also an extremely meticulous politician driven as much by political philosophy as he is by the necessity to cut a deal. As the head of the Justice Department now liberated from the constraints of legislating, Lockyer may have more of an opportunity to place an ideological stamp on a department that has focused largely on speeding up the death-penalty appeals process and putting more criminals behind bars for the last eight years.

The Hayward Democrat gave strong indications of how his political philosophy may manifest itself during his tenure as attorney general. Throughout the course of the campaign, Lockyer spoke about beefing up the consumer and environmental protection arms of the department, and providing more ardent representation to the state's environmental agencies embroiled in civil suits against businesses, land owners and developers. Lockyer said his vision for the department meshes closely with that of Governor-elect Gray Davis, and he expects to use some of his proven relationships in the Legislature to advocate for more money for crime prevention programs and enforcement of the state's environmental and consumer protection laws. Lockyer is also looking into the attorney general's role in protecting Californians in lawsuits against health-maintenance organizations as part of what could be a multi-pronged attack on HMOs by Democrats in Sacramento.

Political handicappers will want to take some note of how Lockyer operates as the state's top cop and top lawyer in the coming years. The last four attorneys general have made runs at the state's top job, leading many Sacramento watchers to quip that A.G. stands for "aspiring governor" rather than attorney general. Though it is still likely eight years away, Lockyer now occupies a prominent spot on the Democratic bench for potential governors-in-waiting.

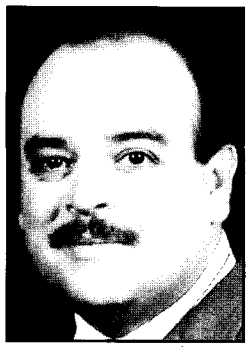
— *Anthony York*

Lieutenant Governor

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Cruz Bustamante (D)	**4,088,873**	**(53)**
Tim Leslie (R)	3,002,942	(39)
George M. McCoy (AI)	88,361	(1)
Sara Amir (G)	234,250	(3)
Thomas Tryon (L)	159,025	(2)
Jaime L. Gomez (PF)	104,999	(1)
James J. Mangia (RF)	70,718	(1)

In a race that grabbed little attention, Democratic Assemblyman Cruz Bustamante had it all: a moderate image, a consistent message and a Hispanic heritage. And lots of money.



Bustamante

Leslie

In an election year in which Republicans rolled over and played possum, it was an easy romp for the former Assembly speaker to become the first Latino elected to statewide office since 1871. As lieutenant governor, the Central Valley Democrat also becomes the first to serve with a governor from the same party in 20 years.

For his Republican rival, state Senator Tim Leslie, it was an uphill battle from the outset. The Tahoe City legislator had already vanquished perhaps his toughest competitor: a rare form of bone marrow cancer diagnosed early in the campaign. But battling cancer turned out to be far easier than winning voters.

Outgunned financially and little-known outside his Northern California Senate district, Leslie was hard-pressed to get his name before voters in a big way either in mailers or on TV.

Although Leslie carried more counties — 28 compared to Bustamante's 24, the votes he collected were mostly in small, rural counties such as Mariposa, Modoc and Mono. He pocketed Orange (where his parents reside) and San Diego (where he bought more TV than Bustamante) counties, but couldn't come close to closing the gap of one million more voters who marked their ballots "Bustamante."

Besides his home turf in the Central Valley, the Fresno Democrat carried the coast and the Bay Area, as well as voter-rich Los Angeles, San Bernardino and Riverside counties.

Bustamante stuck to his message: "a moderate guy" who would work with both parties to fix education, help working families and create more jobs by improving the state's business climate and boosting international trade, particularly with Mexico. He frequently cited his legislation to put more textbooks in California classrooms and promised to make college tuition affordable for more families.

Leslie preached similar messages but, as a staunch conservative and an outspoken foe of abortion and gay rights, he was out of step with an electorate who declared it wanted pro-choice candidates who leaned to the middle.

Leslie also lacked another attribute that Bustamante had in spades: money.

Leslie raised about $700,000, mostly in small contributions from small businesses and individuals. By contrast, Bustamante launched his campaign with a $1.4 million war chest from his Assembly speakership, then padded it further with hefty contributions from labor unions and Indian casino tribes. Three of those tribes gave him $100,000 apiece in the last alone.

A frugal campaigner, Leslie could only muster enough cash for limited TV exposure in San Diego, Los Angeles and Sacramento. As in the primary, his campaign counted on a statewide network of acquaintances, church friends and political allies to spread the word.

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Although Leslie tried casting Bustamante as unfit for the job, citing his reputation as a weak leader in the Assembly and a poor attendance record while sitting as a UC regent and a CSUS trustee, the criticisms never stuck. In their only televised debate, Bustamante brushed off the attacks, telling Leslie, "C'mon, you know better than that."

As one Latino political consultant noted: "Bustamante's got a warm, fatherly demeanor that makes people happy to vote for him. He showed a lot of people that as a Latino, if you don't seem threatening or radical, people are willing to vote for you.'

— *Claudia Buck*

Secretary of State

Alioto (D)	3,520,304	(46)
Jones (R)	**3,599,430**	**(47)**
Short (AI)	95,711	(1)
Lightfoot (L)	206,955	(3)
Bialosky (NL)	98,770	(1)
Feuer (PF)	74,883	(1)
Sharpe-Geisler (RF)	69,473	(1)

The lesson here is never to take re-election for granted. Incumbent Republican Bill Jones, considered by many to be a shoo-in, was able to rest easy only after most absentee ballots were in.

Yes, Democrats swept the election and paltry down-ticket media coverage made connecting with voters nearly impossible without big money. And, yes, he *did* win.

Still, the secretary of state contest might serve as a cautionary tale for Jones, who could end up the GOP's top choice for U.S. Senate in 2000 or for the governor's spot in 2002. If he seeks another office, this proverbial Republican boy scout should carry with him that organization's motto: "Be Prepared."

Jones emerged from the June uncontested primary with 50 percent of the vote, while his Democratic opponent garnered 39 percent in an election with high Democratic turnout. So he had reason to be confident. He also piled up endorsements from newspapers up and down the state, including two glowing editorials from Alioto's home base paper, *The San Francisco Chronicle,* praising him for increasing voter numbers and cleaning up voter rolls.

In contrast, Michela Alioto, a former staffer to Vice President Al Gore and failed 1996 candidate in Congressional District 1, wielded a short resume. The 30-year-old has never held an elected office, let alone one at the state level. Most of her media outreach focused on criticizing Jones' handling of his job.

But popular Democrats at the top of the ticket provided a sure boost for this lower office, and Alioto's appearances with two Democratic pillars, Al Gore and Gray Davis, likely bolstered her numbers. Also, the former San Francisco mayor's granddaughter has a name that resonates in the California political scene and in the populous Bay Area. And she could loan herself $500,000, most of it financing a TV spot in the Los Angeles and Bay areas in the campaign's last week.

Jones

Alioto

That deliberately cheesy negative ad may have succeeded in sticking in voters' minds. Her lead in Los Angeles County soared from around 12,000 votes in June to over 250,000 in November.

Jones' hand-wringer of a victory highlights a predicament that this time around nearly did him in. When you do your job well in a down-ticket office, as many say he has, voters rarely hear about it (or at least don't remember they did). Jones' name ID consistently polled low throughout the campaign.

Curiously, Jones' fund-raising figures also remained low, even though polls showed this would be a close race. From July to November, he accrued the same in contributions (around $600,000) as another low-profile statewide candidate, state Senator Tim Leslie, whose base lies in unlucrative rural Northern California.

For a candidate like Jones, with longtime party connections to both the Central Valley and Sacramento, the dollar amounts are strikingly low when compared to contributions raised by GOP *compadres* Curt Pringle and Charles Quackenbush, who each raked in nearly $2 million. Some of these candidates faced well-heeled challengers, warranting scrambles for funds, but to some political observers Jones' minimal fund raising sends up a red flag signaling complacency.

It's easy to declare in hindsight that Jones should have run a more aggressive campaign — say, going beyond the no-frills 10-second TV spot touting the secretary of state's record. The Jones campaign responds that he did the "statesman-like thing" by not trying to siphon off money from the all-important governor's race.

But if Jones does consider another office, he may need to summon up the longtime party activist within to convince his GOP colleagues and voters that he's got the fire in the belly to go prime time.

— *Melanie Smith*

By The Numbers

Ranking of Prop. 5 in USA history of costliest ballot measures: 1

Amount Indians spent per vote to win tribal gaming: $13.65

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Treasurer

Angelides (D)	**3,832,321**	**(53)**
Pringle (R)	2,885,820	(40)
Kaiser (AI)	84,937	(1)
Petersen (L)	169,097	(2)
Aguirre (N)	160,833	(2)
Tucker (PF)	134,824	(2)

Angelides

Pringle

Surfers aren't the only ones who appreciate the importance of catching just the right wave and riding it to a big finish. So does Phil Angelides.

Four years ago, Angelides, a millionaire developer and former state Democratic Party chairman, ran for treasurer and lost to state Board of Equalization member Matt Fong, even though he outspent Fong by several million dollars. The year 1994, of course, was a gnarly one for Democrats and sweet for Republicans, who took Congress and the Assembly and held on to the governorship.

Jump now to 1998, the year of a positively bodacious Democratic wave. Pre-election polls showed Angelides in a dead heat with his Republican opponent, Assemblyman Curt Pringle, but Angelides wound up coasting to an easy 13-point victory. He did so by winning 60 percent of the vote in Los Angeles County and the Bay Area, plus narrow victories in San Bernardino County and parts of the Central Valley. He also did better than expected in GOP bastions like Orange and San Diego counties, both of which tilted toward Pringle, but not by the margins Pringle had expected or required.

Once again, Angelides enjoyed a money advantage over his GOP rival. Pringle had to blow most of his early fund raising to defeat Assemblyman Jan Goldsmith in the June election, while Angelides ran without significant opposition. That left Angelides with a million bucks to start with, enough to buy TV time early and often.

Angelides' ads included a hit piece against Pringle for his involvement in the 1988 "poll guard" incident, when local Orange County Republicans hired private security guards to monitor election precincts in heavily minority parts of Pringle's Assembly district. The Democratic Party also put out a mailer against Pringle that raised both the poll guard incident and Pringle's role in the 1995 recall election of Republican Assemblywoman Doris Allen, in which a phony Democrat was placed on the ballot with the help of GOP staffers.

Pringle managed to raise over $2 million for the campaign, including $200,000 from California Indian tribes in October. That allowed Pringle to ride the airwaves the week before the election, but he had only enough money for one 30-second mixed-message commercial that jammed together his fiscal accomplishments and a swipe at Angelides' "sleazy" history of running negative campaigns. In the 1994 primary, Angelides attacked his Democratic rival, Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, with a widely aired ad that implied Roberti — who opposed abortion — approved of the slaying of a Florida abortion doctor.

It also didn't help Pringle to be on the wrong side of the school-funding debate in a year when education was the top priority of voters. Pringle opposed Proposition 1A, the $9 billion school facilities bond, saying it was too much debt for the state to incur all at once. But that fiscally conservative message ran against an electoral wave that overwhelmingly approved the bond. Angelides, on the other hand, supported Proposition 1A — which also benefited developers like himself by capping their fees for new school construction. Working most in his favor, however, was the plain and simple fact that Angelides was a Democrat in a year when the party caught a ride on a tsunami.

— *Noel Brinkerhoff*

Controller

Connell (D*)	**4,479,049**	**(61)**
Barrales (R)	2,424,386	(33)
Burgess (AI)	100,806	(1)
Pescosolido (L)	135,683	(2)
Adam (NL)	47,257	(1)
Weber (PF)	63,127	(1)
Jackson (RF)	92,738	(1)

This was not a race where the outcome was ever in doubt. Of all the advantages a candidate yearns to possess — money, incumbency, party affiliation — incumbent Kathleen Connell had them. In fact, the only thing worth noting on Republican challenger Ruben Barrales' behalf is not what he did in this year's state controller campaign but what he might bring to his crippled Republican Party in other elections down the road.

Connell won the election handily by two million votes and carried every county except three, including Barrales' home turf of San Mateo County, where he serves on the Board of Supervisors. The three counties Barrales won were Glenn, Sutter and Kern, none of which will ever be mistaken for voter-rich Los Angeles. And had it not been for television ads run exclusively in the Central Valley, he might not have won those, either. Barrales, of course, would have preferred greater television exposure statewide, but limited resources made that impossible.

Barrales raised $750,000 in this, his first, run for statewide office, but that wasn't nearly enough to overcome the $3 million Connell had, including $2 million she loaned herself. Connell's greatest assets, though, were being a Democrat and an incumbent in a year when both qualities

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Connell

Barrales

resonated well with voters.

Connell did get some negative press for her lawsuit challenging a Public Employees Retirement System regulation that prevented board members from accepting campaign contributions from investors. Connell, who sits on the PERS board as part of her duties, argued the regulation unfairly targeted her because she needs to raise money as an elected official, while most PERS board members are appointed. She also pointed out that the regulation did nothing to prevent her opponent from accepting contributions from PERS investors. Barrales, though, swore not to accept any such donations.

Barrales used Connell's lawsuit as an opportunity to blast her publicly, saying she was opposed to conflict-of-interest rules. As it turned out, Connell won her case when a judge threw out the rule on procedural grounds, citing PERS' failure to follow established guidelines for adopting regulations. But winning her case didn't stop several newspapers, including the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *The Sacramento Bee*, from criticizing Connell for the lawsuit and endorsing Barrales.

In addition to newspaper endorsements, Barrales also won kudos from party insiders for conducting a solid campaign. That combined with his appealing message and nice-guy personality could make him an ideal candidate for future statewide campaigns. Like many before, a first run for statewide office is often marked not by electoral success but the establishment of name identification and a fund-raising Rolodex. And as part of a political party sorely in need of minority leadership, especially Latino, someone like Barrales could be critical for future GOP plans to broaden its base.

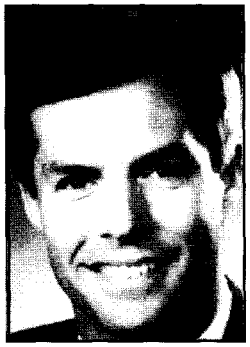
—Noel Brinkerhoff

Insurance Commissioner

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Martinez (D)	3,351,765	(44)
Quackenbush (R*)	**3,812,654**	**(50)**
Short (AI)	88,799	(1)
Ogden (L)	161,466	(2)
Bourdette (N.)	124,112	(2)
Ramos (PF)	111,196	(1)

Anyone looking for the baseline indicator of how good a year 1998 was for Democrats in California need look no further than this race. True, incumbent Charles Quackenbush's six-point victory over Democratic Assemblywoman Diane


Quackenbush

Martinez

Martinez was the biggest win by a Republican in any statewide office this year. But it was one of only two GOP wins, and it took absentee votes to edge his tally into the range of the magic 50 percent mark.

In truth, Quackenbush's victory is as much a product of the luck of the draw as anything else. The luck that prompted first-tier Democratic prospects to take a pass on the contest despite Quackenbush's reputation for coziness with the insurance industry. Luck that produced a Democratic opponent — Martinez — whose own reputation for flakiness made her something of a pariah in the legislative institution she sought to use as a springboard to higher office. And the luck that allowed him to get away with hedging on an early campaign commitment to win without the insurance industry contributions that helped propel him to office only four years before.

Over the course of the general election campaign, Quackenbush raised and spent nearly $2 million, a sizable majority of it from individuals and companies with insurance industry connections — brokers, agents, underwriters, trade groups, and yes, even companies such as Geico. Coupled with independent expenditures on his behalf from the California Republican Party, Quackenbush was able to run a surprisingly lengthy television campaign, with ads spotlighting his advocacy of a 1996 initiative restricting legal settlements for drunk drivers.

Martinez, who ran as the insurance industry's "worst nightmare," apparently wasn't too dreamy to anyone else. Her total fund raising in the fall campaign: roughly $51,000. But she did have some roundabout help from consumer watchdog groups who were critical of Quackenbush's car insurance rating policies, which they viewed as being too friendly to the industry. Still, for most of the campaign, Martinez was all but invisible, running neither television nor radio. The only real attention-getter of her effort was a clever Internet logo — a duck over which was emblazoned the red circle with the slash through the middle ("No Quack," read the logo).

Combine a 35-to-1 financial advantage with incumbency and an opponent with no real base of support, and you have a recipe for a wipeout. Yet Martinez came within 6 percent of Quackenbush, clearing 300,000 more votes than GOP gubernatorial nominee Dan Lungren. And as of the latest election report, Quackenbush still hadn't actually cracked the 50 percent mark. The result left some Democrats kicking themselves for not having worked harder on the race. A higher-profile candidate would almost certainly have given Quackenbush more of a run, and even Martinez might have made a race of it with a couple hundred thousand dollars for television at the end. No doubt Democrats will be gunning to take back the office when Quackenbush terms out in 2002.

— Steve Scott

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Superintendent of Public Instruction

(nonpartisan)

Delaine Eastin (NP*)	**3,354,949**	**(54)**
Gloria Matta Tuchman (NP)	2,919,473	(47)

In the most expensive campaign in history for state superintendent of public instruction – a decidedly down-ticket, ostensibly nonpartisan job with little real power – incumbent Delaine Eastin beat back a serious challenge from political neophyte Gloria Matta Tuchman, a Santa Ana first-grade teacher who co-chaired the successful Proposition 227 anti-bilingual initiative campaign and was bankrolled by a handful of wealthy, pro-voucher conservatives. Eastin, suffering the woes of incumbency at a time when public anger at the sorry state of California's schools reached an all-time high, raised more than $2 million, including several hundred thousand in late contributions from unions and education groups alarmed at an extraordinary 11th hour $500,000 boost to the Tuchman campaign. It was reportedly the largest individual contribution ever made to a California political candidate — from David W. Packard, son of the founder of Hewlett-Packard and a former university teacher of Greek, whose previous philanthropic and political donations tended more to the cultural and educational than the ideological. A backer of English-language instruction, vouchers and a back-to-basics educational approach, Packard told *The Sacramento Bee* columnist Peter Schrag – who opined that the contribution "lurches to the edge of quirkiness and beyond" – that he just didn't much like Delaine Eastin, a former state assemblywoman from Fremont with a reputation as a somewhat prickly and ambitious politician. During her first term, Eastin alienated many of the state's top education groups and was constantly at odds with Republican Governor Pete Wilson and his appointed state board. She was one of the few incumbent state superintendents in recent memory to fail to secure a second term in the primary.

Ultimately, though, general voter discomfort with the strident message of ultraconservatives and the religious right, as well as Eastin's fund raising and "bully pulpit" skills worked against the much lesser-known Tuchman, who early on aligned herself with political conservatives and causes, favoring vouchers and opposing bilingual education. Her other major contributors included ultraconservative Christian businessman and Home Savings heir Howard Ahmanson, who gave her $225,000, Wal-Mart heir John Walton ($55,000) and businessman and former state Board of Education member William Hume ($120,000). Tuchman also generated some last-minute negative publicity for herself with an appeal to homophobic sentiment when she issued a campaign flyer criticizing Eastin for endorsements by a gay Democratic group and three openly lesbian politicians – who were oddly lumped together in the flyer with San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown and the California Teachers Association, under the heading, "Look Who Eastin Proudly Lists as Endorsers."

Eastin

Tuchman

While her re-election hardly represents a strong voter mandate, Eastin enters a second term bolstered by a Democratic administration and its ability to make appointments to the policy-setting state board. Five of the 11 board members can be replaced when Governor-elect Gray Davis takes office in January, and a sixth seat will open up next summer. Eastin's budget lot will improve as well. No longer will she have to contend with Wilson's punitively wielded budgetary ax, which last year whacked $8 million from the Department of Education that Eastin heads.

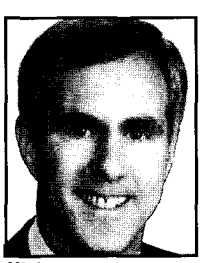
Although Eastin and Davis have had their differences – early in the primary campaign, she appeared in a television ad extolling then-gubernatorial candidate Al Checchi for backing Eastin's education funding plans — Davis has made improving public education a major campaign platform. And clearly, a unified approach to education budgeting and legislation is much more likely with a Democratic governor and state superintendent as well as a Democrat-dominated Legislature. Criticized by education groups during her first term for failing to work cooperatively with them – and for spending too much time traveling in and outside the state, rather than tending to administrative duties in the state Department of Education – Eastin may be inclined to spend more time in the Capitol, where she is known to have gubernatorial aspirations of her own.

—Sigrid Bathen

Board of Equalization

District 1 (52% D - 29% R)

Klehs (D*)	**1,294,754**	**(78)**
Watson (L)	368,505	(22)



Klehs

Former Assemblyman Johan Klehs didn't draw a GOP opponent, nor much of a challenge from the Libertarian.

District 2 (43% D - 41% R)

Santos (D)	750,940	(45)
Andal (R*)	**917,824**	**(55)**

Dean Andal, another former assemblyman, captured his second term on the board by beating Democrat Tom Santos

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in a general election that was almost a direct reprise of the blanket primary. Andal's victory was less than sterling but expected in a district where Democrats spent heavily to get out the Latino vote for overlapping Central Valley Assembly races.

Andal

District 3 (37% D - 44% R)

Christian-Helsing (D)	728,847	(42)
Parrish (R)	**924,617**	**(53)**
Graham (L)	65,035	(4)
Quirk (PF)	27,296	(2)

Ernie has left the building. Republican Claude Parrish won the right to succeed longtime member Ernie Dronenburg, who was termed out after 20 years on the board.

Parrish

District 4 (56% D - 27% R)

Chiang (D*)	**855,317**	**(60)**
Adams (R)	424,116	(30)
Bailey (G)	56,708	(4)
Jennings (L)	40,400	(3)
Isaacson (PF)	43,609	(3)

Chiang

Although technically not an incumbent, acting board member John Chiang had all the trappings, including a healthy fund-raising edge both in the splintered Democratic primary and in the relatively painless general election. A measure of the office's obscurity came when Chiang was introduced at a Democratic pep rally at UCLA the day before the election. He was introduced as someone who helped organize the rally, rather than as an actual member of the ticket, and his candidacy was mentioned only as an afterthought.

Rostrum letters

Builders and the bond

Congratulations on a brilliant piece of fiction about "muscle politics" and "monstrous" lobbying tactics leading to the passage this year of SB 50, the landmark legislation to establish a long-term financing program for building and modernizing California public schools (see *CJ*, November 1998). I can't wait to see the movie. Granted, the truth about what SB 50 is and how the school facilities compromise came to pass is much less entertaining than the "drama" portrayed in your article. But, the facts about this historic compromise are undeniable.

- SB 50 is a fail-safe school financing program that guarantees 100 percent financing for new facilities, no matter what;
- SB 50 represents the first-ever long-term school facilities plan in California's history; and
- Despite the *Journal's* assertions to the contrary, homebuilders, not taxpayers, will pay more under SB 50.

The *Journal* asks: "Why should homebuilders be participants in school construction policy making, anyway?" Again, the truth is that fees on new homes have been the only reliable source of funding for school facilities for the last 12 years and they have been rising faster in the last decade than any other tax on any other business or taxpayer group in the state.

And, these taxes have real-life consequences. Every $1,000 in fees added to the price of a home means tens of thousands of California families can't afford to buy that home. Representing a state with the nation's highest housing costs and lowest homeownership rate, fewer and fewer legislators are as dismissive of homebuilder complaints about fees, and the bi-partisan support for SB 50 shows it.

Homebuilders realize that "entertainment value" will often determine how stories like the passage of SB 50 will be told. But the, *California Journal* might be advised to listen carefully to what it thinks is the thud of an 800-pound "special interest" gorilla. It may instead be the increasingly synchronized march of hard-working families and individuals in California looking for an affordable place to live — coming to a "theater" near you.

TIMOTHY L. COYLE
Senior Vice President
California Building Industry Association

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Congress

If Republicans can point to one bright spot in the debris of 1998, it is their congressional delegation, which actually gained a seat on Election Day. The GOP added seats previously held by Democrats Vic Fazio (West Sacramento) and Jane Harman (Torrance), while losing the north coast enclave held by Republican Frank Riggs. None of the incumbents ran; Fazio retired, while Harman and Riggs lost June primaries for governor and U.S. Senate, respectively. The only other incumbents among the 52-member delegation who will not return for the 1999-2000 Congress are Democrat Esteban Torres, who retired, and Republican Jay Kim, who was defeated in the June primary.

Not all the news was terrific for congressional Republicans, however. Although they gained a seat, they failed to mount significant challenges to several Democrats considered vulnerable earlier in the year. Ellen Tauscher of Danville, Cal Dooley of Visalia, Brad Sherman of Sherman Oaks, Lois Capps of Santa Barbara and George Brown Jr. of Colton were expected to face stiff challenges that never materialized. In fact, the toughest challenges were hurled at a pair of Republican incumbents — James Rogan of Glendale and Brian Bilbray of San Diego. Both won narrow re-elections after hard-fought campaigns.

And then there was the most expensive congressional race in the country — the Orange County air war between incumbent Democrat Loretta Sanchez and the man she kicked out of Congress in 1996, Bob Dornan. The total bill may reach $7 million as Sanchez won a convincing victory over the conservative Dornan, who has claimed for two years that the '96 contest had been stolen from him by a raft of illegal voters. At least, the peripatetic Dornan won't make that claim this time around; he was pasted.

— A.G. Block

District 1 (47% D - 33% R)

Thompson (D)	**110,590**	**(62)**
Luce (R)	58,370	(33)
Rossi (L)	4,958	(3)
Jones (PF)	4,525	(3)

State Senator Mike Thompson walloped Napa County Supervisor Mark Luce, whose invocation of President Bill Clinton's troubles and efforts to paint centrist Thompson as a liberal big-spender fell flat. It didn't help that Luce trailed his opponent in fund raising throughout the campaign by about 10-to-1 and that the Republican Party chose not to fortify Luce for battle. In choosing the pragmatic Thompson, voters may have finally landed somebody with staying power in this hard-to-represent district that has flipped parties throughout the '90s.

District 2 (38% D - 44% R)

Braden (D)	66,225	(35)
Herger (R*)	**118,881**	**(62)**
Thiessen (NL)	5,726	(3)

Democratic tide notwithstanding, they're losing registration numbers up here. Retired university professor Roberts Braden got 8,000 votes fewer than he did in 1996, when he last faced off with fixture Wally Herger.

District 3 (45% D - 39% R)

Dunn (D)	81,493	(45)
Ose (R)	**96,110**	**(53)**
Crain (L)	4,672	(2)

Ose

Dunn

The 3rd District finally fulfilled its inevitable destiny this election and crossed over into the Republican column as GOP millionaire developer Doug Ose defeated Democrat Sandee Dunn without much of a fight. This Sacramento district has been trending Republican since redistricting in 1990 and was kept out of the Republican column only by the popularity of 10-term Congressman Vic Fazio, who rose to the third most powerful position in the House Democratic hierarchy. But Fazio weathered tough, expensive challenges in the last two elections and decided to hang 'em up this year. That opened the way for Ose, who, with the help of $1 million of his own cash and a series of memorable campaign ads attacking his primary opponent, termed-out Assemblywoman Barbara Alby, survived his party's primary to go head-to-head with Dunn. Dunn never got momentum on her side, in part because she was conceived as a candidate to run against the more conservative Alby. When Ose upset Alby in the primary, the Democratic Party's Washington apparatus turned in a lackluster effort on Dunn's behalf, helping Ose cruise to victory and tilt the California congressional delegation with one more seat in the Republican column.

District 4 (36% D - 47% R)

Shapiro (D)	76,273	(35)
Doolittle (R*)	**137,333**	**(62)**
Winterrowd (L)	6,656	(3)

Conservative Republican John Doolittle did little in his re-election effort, easily sailing to victory over two token opponents.

District 5 (55% D - 29% R)

Matsui (D*)	**123,067**	**(72)**
Dinsmore (R)	44,641	(26)
Tuma (L)	3,536	(2)

With the retirement of Vic Fazio, Congressman Robert Matsui becomes the Sacramento area's bastion of Democratic seniority in the House of Representatives.

District 6 (52% D - 29% R)

Woolsey (D*)	**144,998**	**(68)**
McAuliffe (R)	63,481	(29)
Barreca (NL)	4,776	(2)

Nothing doing for building contractor Ken McAuliffe against three-term incumbent Lynn Woolsey.

District 7 (60% D - 22% R)

Miller (D*)	**117,423**	**(77)**
Reece (R)	35,534	(23)

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Veteran Martinez incumbent George Miller found himself unwittingly thrust into the middle of a heated contest in the nearby 10th District, when a bogus mailer attacking Democrat Ellen Tauscher, and carrying his name, was sent out the day before the election. Miller, safe in his own seat, came to Tauscher's rescue, renouncing the fake mailer and calling for an investigation.

District 8 (60% D - 14% R)

Pelosi (D*)	**144,737**	**(86)**
Martz (R)	20,444	(12)
Smithstein (NL)	3,567	(2)

San Francisco incumbent Nancy Pelosi rides the Democratic wave, upping her winning percentage from 85 percent to 86 percent.

District 9 (66% D - 12% R)

Lee (D*)	**138,571**	**(83)**
Sanders (R)	22,163	(13)
Ruehlig (NL)	1,945	(1)
Sanders (PF)	4,677	(3)

Having knocked off all comers in the spring special election to replace retired Representative Ron Dellums, and having easily won the Democratic primary, former state Senator Barbara Lee completes the hat trick with an easy general election victory in this Oakland-based district. Her meddling back home wasn't so successful, though, as her handpicked replacement in the Senate, Alameda Supervisor Keith Carson, finished third in that special election.

District 10 (41% D - 42% R)

Tauscher (D*)	**118,277**	**(53)**
Ball (R)	96,753	(44)
Janlois (NL)	3,672	(2)
Place (RF)	3,224	(1)

Tauscher

Conventional wisdom about congressional elections in unfriendly districts is that the most important victory isn't the first, it's the second. Former incumbent Bill Baker learned that lesson the hard way when he was dumped by Ellen Tauscher two years ago from this GOP-leaning district that covers both suburban Alameda and Contra Costa counties and an increasingly suburbanized section of San Joaquin County. The wealthy and avowedly centrist Tauscher would have been a tough target in any year, and GOP efforts to recruit a big-name challenger fell by the boards. But Republicans at least made a good show of it with Livermore security analyst Charles Ball. Young, energetic and possessed of some personal resources of his own, Ball tried to pin Tauscher down on the impeachment issue, making President Bill Clinton's troubles a focus of his campaign. When Tauscher crossed him up by voting in support of an open-ended impeachment probe, Ball claimed credit for the maneuver. The usual round of GOP suspects trundled in on his behalf, but Tauscher never made it to the first tier of any national Republican target lists, and the efforts seemed more designed to pin down the incumbent. But it seems there was somebody, somewhere, who wanted Ball to win badly enough to play a dirty trick. The day before the election, Democratic voters in the district received a mailer (with first-class postage), purportedly from the "East Bay Democratic Committee," and bearing the name (if not the signature) of Representative George Miller. The letter called on Democrats to vote against Tauscher because of her impeachment vote. Voters reported receiving a "chase" call from phone banks in Michigan and Canada. The Ball camp denied any involvement in the trick, at one point even suggesting that the Tauscher campaign had hit itself in an effort to get favorable media. Whoever was responsible, and whatever the intent, it clearly didn't help Ball, but then it really wasn't his year, anyway. Running as a hard-right conservative, Ball faced an incumbent who has worked hard to position herself in the center, as part of the "New Dog" Democratic coalition.

District 11 (46% D - 41% R)

Figueroa (D)	52,887	(36)
Pombo (R*)	**89,521**	**(61)**
Baird (L)	3,396	(2)

Another crushing victory under the belt of Republican Richard Pombo, one of the House's most conservative members.

District 12 (54% D - 25% R)

Lantos (D*)	**116,292**	**(74)**
Evans (R)	32,756	(21)
Moloney (L)	3,396	(2)

Nine-term incumbent Tom Lantos is a lock in this San Francisco-San Mateo anchored district.

District 13 (55% D - 25% R)

Stark (D*)	**99,304**	**(71)**
Goetz (R)	37,756	(21)
Bevlikjian (NL)	2,975	(2)

Veteran Fortney "Pete" Stark remains one of his party's premier health care wonks.

District 14 (47% D - 33% R)

Eshoo (D*)	**115,357**	**(69)**
Haugen (R)	47,946	(27)
Dehn (L) 2,864	(2)	
Currivan (NL) 2,152	(1)	

Three-termer Anna Eshoo taught classroom teacher Chris Haugen a thing or two about running against a secure incumbent, even in a Silicon Valley district with relatively marginal Democratic registration.

District 15 (45% D - 36% R)

Lane (D)	63,592	(38)
Campbell (R*)	**101,129**	**(61)**
Strutner (NL)	2,617	(2)

The professorial incumbent Tom Campbell spent a fair amount of time out on the stump in support of an eclectic array of candidates, including Charles Ball in the 10th Congressional District, and even libertarian-ish Southern California Assembly candidate Bill Eggers. They lost, by and large, but Campbell — whose centrist high-tech politics seem tailor-made for Silicon Valley — didn't have any trouble at all.

District 16 (51% D - 28% R)

Lofgren (D*)	**77,587**	**(73)**
Thayn (R)	25,059	(23)
Black (NL)	4,067	(4)

As the only Northern California lawmaker on the House Judiciary Committee, three-termer Zoe Lofgren got plenty of local media attention when the House started considering impeachment. She'll get plenty more unless Congress and the president cut a plea-bargain deal.

District 17 (52% D - 29% R)

Farr (D*)	**95,730**	**(64)**
McCampbell (R)	49,228	(33)
Garrett (L)	2,545	(2)
Hartley (NL)	1,583	(1)

Democrat Sam Farr won another term in Congress with little sweat. A one-time Assembly member, Farr replaced Democrat Leon Panetta in 1993 after Panetta accepted a job in the Clinton administration. Farr likely will remain in Congress as long as he chooses.

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District 18 (50% D - 36% R)

Condit (D*)	**104,300**	**(87)**
Degroat (L)	15,837	(13)

Central Valley Democrat Gary Condit didn't draw any Republican opposition in seeking his fifth full term, and his Libertarian opponent, inventor Ken Aaroe, died before the general election. Aaroe's replacement, Linda Degroat, didn't fare much better at the polls, getting trounced by the bluest of Blue Dog Democrats, whose clout will only increase thanks to the narrowed margin in the House.

District 19 (42% D - 45% R)

Radanovich (R*)	**127,625**	**(79)**
Richter (L)	33,121	(21)

Two-term incumbent George Radanovich's real election was held after November 4, when he launched a bid for a position in the House leadership. Although he quickly aborted his bid for conference chairman and rallied behind J.C. Watts of Oklahoma, Radanovich, along with Chris Cox and David Dreier, is emerging as an ambitious California conservative, eager to bring some geographic parity to the House Republican leadership.

District 20 (54% D - 33% R)

Dooley (D*)	**57,596**	**(61)**
Unruh (R)	37,303	(39)

When Democrat Cal Dooley only received 43 percent of the vote in June, Republicans may have taken a second look at trying to unseat him. But when they realized they nominated conservative Cliff Unruh, a former field rep for the Chamber of Commerce who wants the nation's laws to more closely reflect Biblical law, the party turned away and Dooley sailed to re-election.

District 21 (37% D - 48% R)

Thomas (R)	**107,913**	**(79)**
Evans (RF)	28,846	(21)

Bill Thomas only drew token opposition from a Reform Party candidate in his re-election bid. Then again, a couple of major party gubernatorial nominees in Minnesota thought the same thing. No such upset for John "The Body" Evans, who mustered only 21 percent of the vote.

District 22 (41% D - 40% R)

Capps (D*)	**92,674**	**(54)**
Bordonaro (R)	74,299	(44)
Bakhaus (L)	2,246	(1)
Porter (RF)	1,069	(1)

Capps

Bordonaro

They say that three's a charm. Not so for former Assemblyman Tom Bordonaro, who lost his third straight head-to-head match-up with Congresswoman Lois Capps. Early on, this race was viewed as a slam-dunk for Capps, but some contested local races in the area and early polling numbers shed a new ray of optimism in Camp Bordonaro. But the final result was the same as before, with Capps comfortably outpolling her conservative Republican opponent. This was the only district in California where the late anti-Clinton television spots ran in the closing days of the campaign, but they did little to slow down Capps, who was elected to her first full term by a comfortable 10-point margin. Capps was part of a Democratic troika in Santa Barbara, which re-elected Jack O'Connell to the state Senate and provided the margin of error for attorney Hannah-Beth Jackson to claim the Assembly seat formerly held by Republican Brooks Firestone.

District 23 (42% D - 40% R)

Gonzalez (D)	63,109	(40)
Gallegly (R*)	**95,117**	**(60)**

This Ventura County-based district is secure territory for Elton Gallegly who, next to Pete Wilson, is the state's most visible immigration hawk. An uptick in the district's Latino population caused some Democrats to give attorney Dan Gonzalez a look, but there just wasn't enough money out there to make challenging Gallegly a cost-effective endeavor.

District 24 (45% D - 38% R)

Sherman (D*)	**100,775**	**(57)**
Hoffman (R)	67,807	(39)
Miller (L)	2,622	(1)
Carter (NL)	2,955	(2)
Shroyer (PF)	1,821	(1)

The national Republican establishment has been a persistent suitor to this western San Fernando Valley swing district, but it still hasn't gotten to first base. Democrats win it narrowly in

Sherman

good Republican years and comfortably in good Democratic years. Freshman incumbent Brad Sherman benefitted from one of the comfortable years, thanks in part to another disappointing Republican candidate. Self-made millionaire Randy Hoffman, founder of the satellite tracking company Magellan Systems, bought his way through the primary with half a million of his own money, but along the way he left two different campaign managers in his wake. Promised all the help he'd need, Hoffman lit out after Sherman, hitting him on everything from alleged softness on drug smugglers to the combs the balding lawmaker handed out as campaign icebreakers. The full slate of GOP poohbahs swarmed in to give their support — Hoffman even got TV vixen Heather Locklear to fill in when Newt Gingrich had to cancel. Sherman gave as good as he got, accusing Hoffman of a Michael Huffington-esque lightness on the issues. One issue that both candidates ducked was the Clinton impeachment question. A journalist who asked the candidates' stands on the issue at a debate was heckled and booed. The campaign took a bizarre turn late in the game when Hoffman's use of the "Tommy Trojan" logo from the University of Southern California in a mailer got him in hot water with the school brass, which said it implied an endorsement. Sherman got a taste of the same mailer medicine when he used the picture of a local doctor, who subsequently claimed to have endorsed Hoffman. At the end, the two candidates were swinging so wildly that little of substance seemed to be coming forth. Each called the other a liar, and Hoffman accused Sherman of pulling up his campaign signs. Four days before the election, Hoffman's campaign filed a complaint against Sherman alleging campaign reporting violations. Sherman termed it a last-minute smear. Hoffman dumped another couple hundred thousand of his own money into the race at the finish, but it was no use. Backlash against the GOP's handling of the Clinton mess and Hoffman's apparent petulance and archness allowed Sherman to cruise to a comfortable win.

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The next election could be their last shot at Sherman. With Democrats controlling redistricting, Sherman could find his district a bit more comfortable come 2002.

District 25 (38% D - 46% R)

McKeon (R*)	**110,844**	**(75)**
Acker (L)	37,582	(25)

The mountains of northwestern Los Angeles County are Buck McKeon Country these days.

District 26 (59% D - 23% R)

Berman (D*)	**67,222**	**(83)**
Armoudian (G)	4,725	(6)
Ros (L)	6,382	(8)
Cossak (NL)	3,163	(4)

The real story in this San Fernando Valley-based district was in the primary, when longtime incumbent Howard Berman was challenged by San Fernando Mayor Rudy Godinez. Though the challenge was largely a grudge match, and Berman won going away, Godinez did well enough to tickle the interest of local Latino leaders. They will doubtless be looking for redistricting to carve out something a little more favorable to a Latino candidate in anticipation of Berman's eventual departure from the scene.

District 27 (45% D - 39% R)

Gordon (D)	71,304	(46)
Rogan (R*)	**77,955**	**(51)**
New (L)	4,342	(3)

Rogan

Gordon

If ever the Democrats had a chance to dislodge incumbent James Rogan from his Glendale-based seat, this was probably the year. They had voter registration trends moving their way, as working-class Democrats continue to move into the district. They had the candidate they wanted in Barry Gordon, a former Screen Actors Guild president who seemed to have the "fire in the belly." And they had an incumbent who was still technically a freshman and was pinned down in Washington in the height of the campaign season. They had what they thought was an issue against the incumbent — his direct involvement with the impeachment investigation under way against President Clinton. Rogan is not only a member of the House Judiciary Committee, the former judge has also been advising the GOP leadership on the history of impeachment. Gordon worked the issue into a general shtick, accusing Rogan of ignoring the concerns of the district, and sent out an explicit anti-impeachment mailing against him in the last week of the campaign. Rogan played it pretty cool for most of the campaign, before hitting Gordon at the finish for having had four separate tax liens filed against him as well as a bankruptcy. The mailing on the tax issue got Rogan in some trouble as well, as it accidentally included Gordon's home address and Social Security number. Rogan apologized for the mistake and offered to hire a bodyguard for Gordon. As the Democratic sweep began developing in California, Rogan suddenly found himself higher up on his party's "watch" list, along with San Diego incumbent Brian Bilbray. But anti-impeachment fervor wasn't quite as intense as in some other areas of the state, and Rogan, well-respected and extremely charming, was able to do enough personal campaigning at the finish to blunt the rough edges of Gordon's portrait. The Democrat also was, ironically, a victim of his party's success. An expected battle in the 43rd Assembly District, which is nested within the congressional district, never materialized, dampening Democratic turnout fervor that might have pushed Gordon's numbers up a tick or two. Rogan is one incumbent Republican who is looking over his shoulder at redistricting. Increased Democratic strength in the region has already elected two Democratic Assembly members and a Democratic senator. It wouldn't take too much creativity to turn Rogan into a very vulnerable incumbent. No doubt his good friend John Burton, the state Senate's president pro tempore, will get an extra fruit basket or two at holiday time.

District 28 (41% D - 42% R)

Nelson (D)	60,240	(39)
Dreier (R*)	**88,534**	**(58)**
Sheasby (G)	1,899	(1)
Douglas (L)	2,954	(1)
Allison (NL)	801	(1)

As the future chair of the House Rules Committee, David Dreier was in line to become the most powerful Californian of the Gingrich era. Barring any unexpected insurrection, he will become the most powerful Californian in the post-Gingrich era.

District 29 (56% D - 24% R)

Waxman (D*)	**127,349**	**(74)**
Gottlieb (R)	38,988	(23)
Binkley (L)	3,412	(2)
Blasdell-Wilkins (NL)	2,610	(2)

Another walk in the park for Henry Waxman who, when Democrats had the majority, was Big Tobacco's Public Enemy Number One.

District 30 (62% D - 19% R)

Becerra (D*)	**56,673**	**(81)**
Parker (R)	13,018	(19)

As the leader of Congress' Latino caucus, two-termer Xavier Becerra can expect to be right in the thick of the coming redistricting wars.

District 31 (57% D - 24% R)

Martinez (D*)	**59,717**	**(70)**
Moreno (R)	19,350	(23)
Lieberg-Wong (G)	4,238	(5)
Everling (L)	1,103	(1)
Hearne (NL)	873	(1)

Longtime incumbent Matthew Martinez didn't have much to worry about in his own race, but his offspring weren't so fortunate. Daughter Diane lost her bid to become state insurance commissioner and his other daughter Susie was mowed down in her bid to fill her sister's Assembly seat.

District 32 (73% D - 12% R)

Dixon (D*)	**108,610**	**(87)**
Ardito (R)	14,219	(11)
Milosevich (L)	2,538	(2)

Incumbent Julian Dixon mostly stayed out of the local political wars this time, settling for another overwhelming win of his own.

District 33 (68% D - 15% R)

Roybal-Allard (D*)	**42,192**	**(87)**
Miller (R)	6,156	(13)

Three-termer Lucille Roybal-Allard will no longer be the only Latina in the California caucus, as she will be joined next year by . . . .

District 34 (61% D - 24% R)

Napolitano (D)	**74,605**	**(68)**
Perez (R)	31,551	(29)
Scott (AI)	2,032	(2)
Heath (L)	2,131	(2)

Grace Napolitano. The termed-out

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assemblywoman was the winner in a contentious primary against Jamie Casso, the chief aide (and son-in-law) of retiring incumbent Esteban Torres. Torres held off announcing his retirement until a few days before the filing deadline in hopes of giving Casso a leg up. But Napolitano, who had been looking toward the state Senate, shifted gears and ran a tough, self-financed campaign accusing Casso of being a carpetbagger. Though Casso had a top-drawer endorsement list, Napolitano had better name recognition and benefitted from being the only woman in the race. Her November victory was mostly a formality in this urban San Gabriel Valley district.

District 35 (75% D - 11% R)		
Waters (D*)	**76,479**	**(89)**
Mego (AI)	9,181	(11)

Fiery incumbent Maxine Waters has emerged as one of President Bill Clinton's most vocal defenders on the House Judiciary Committee.

District 36 (41% D - 40% R)		
Hahn (D)	82,100	(47)
Kuykendall (R)	**86,427**	**(49)**
Barrett (G)	3,505	(2)
Welsh (L)	2,981	(2)
Konopka (RF)	1,510	(1)

Kuykendall

Hahn

This rolling coastal district, stretching from Rancho Palos Verdes in the south to Venice in the north, has been a battleground throughout the 1990s. Most of the attention was focused on outgoing incumbent Jane Harman, who won narrowly in 1992, then fended off challenges in each of the next two elections. Just when Harman was getting the hang of things in the district, though, she up and ran for governor. Unsuccessfully, as it turned out. Republicans figured to have a leg up in capturing the seat from the get-go, and while it wasn't as smooth as they would have liked, the race was one of their few California bright spots. Much of the credit rightfully goes to their candidate, Steve Kuykendall, an affable former Marine and Assembly member. Kuykendall won a relatively comfortable victory in a bitter three-way primary, and was identified early on as a top national GOP priority. His moderate politics proved a nice fit with the independent-minded district. Kuykendall is pro-choice and is no friend of the gun lobby — he was actually endorsed by Handgun Control. His Democratic foe, Los Angeles Charter Commission member Janice Hahn, had name recognition of a different sort. Her father was the late legendary L.A. Supervisor Kenneth Hahn. The Democrat milked the family connection, with the last name HAHN blasting off nearly every campaign mailer. Kuykendall emphasized his moderate voting record and legislative service. Although the campaign was largely positive, Hahn did hit Kuykendall on some environmental votes and the large black spot on his record — the $125,000 eleventh-hour contribution he got from tobacco giant Philip Morris that pushed him to victory in his 1994 Assembly race. Knowing it was coming, Kuykendall answered with a letter from an array of local physicians under the letterhead "For a Smoke Free California." Outside of the relatively modest attacks at the finish, the race was fairly clean. Kuykendall's 4,200-vote margin, while surprisingly close, exceeds the combined margins of victory he enjoyed in each of his two Assembly campaigns. He may not blow them away, but he hasn't lost one yet.

District 37 (73% D - 12% R)		
McDonald (D*)	**68,299**	**(85)**
Lankster (R)	12,027	(15)

Nothing should get in the way of a lengthy tenure for Juanita Millender-McDonald.

District 38 (51% D - 33% R)		
Matthews (D)	57,908	(44)
Horn (R*)	**69,564**	**(53)**
Bowers (L)	3,611	(3)

The race in this coastal Long Beach-based district was closer than might have been imagined, even though moderate incumbent Steve Horn finished 20 points ahead of Republican registration. Heated Assembly contests in districts in and around the congressional seat bumped up Democratic turnout efforts against him. But Horn is hardly home free in the future. The adjacent districts will remain competitive, and Democrats may be tempted to launch an all-out strike in the presidential election year of 2000.

District 39 (38% D - 46% R)		
Groom (D)	51,853	(34)
Royce (R*)	**95,665**	**(63)**
Dean (L)	3,287	(2)
Jevning (NL)	1,891	(1)

Even though this district covers parts of Los Angeles County, this is still very much an Orange County seat, and a very happy place for incumbent Ed Royce.

District 40 (37% D - 46% R)		
Conway (D)	47,784	(32)
Lewis (R*)	**97,127**	**(65)**
Maybena (L)	4,806	(3)

Ten-term incumbent Jerry Lewis slipped a little this year. In 1996 he drubbed Democrat Bob Conway by 50,000 votes. This time around, Conway sneaked to within 49,343.

District 41 (39% D - 44% R)		
Ansari (D)	51,611	(41)
Miller (R)	**67,567**	**(53)**
Allaire (G)	3,533	(3)
Valentine (L)	2,495	(2)
Kramer (NL	1,696	(1)

Once again, Republican Gary Miller didn't overwhelm anyone but garnered just enough support to win an election. A former state legislator, Miller routinely squeaked into the Assembly, and his showing against Diamond Bar Councilwoman Eileen Ansari in this election won't inspire comparisons to Ronald Reagan. Miller replaces Republican Jay Kim, whom he defeated in the June primary. Kim, you may recall, had a handicap — house arrest due to a conviction for campaign-law violations.

District 42 (52% D - 34% R)		
Brown (D*)	**62,194**	**(55)**
Pirozzi (R)	45,317	(40)
McGee (AI)	3,085	(3)
Hollist (L)	1,898	(2)

In every election this decade, incumbent George Brown has held onto his seat by his fingernails. Two years ago, a local Republican judge – Linda Wilde – came within 400 votes of ending Brown's 36-year congressional career, giving some Republicans hope that this would be the year the old liberal warhorse would be put to pasture. Their candidate *du jour* was busi-

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Brown

Pirozzi

nessman Eli Pirozzi of Rancho Cucamonga - a neophyte politician making his first bid for public office. But Pirozzi did not get the kind of help from Washington that had benefited past Brown opponents. Although the 78-year-old incumbent had stood near the top of GOP target lists in past elections, congressional Republicans backed off this race, opting for more tempting targets elsewhere. Plus, it was a good year to be an incumbent, especially one as well known in the district as Brown. Early polls gave Brown a large lead — his campaign claimed 30 points after the primary, a figure Republicans don't dispute — which may have contributed to Pirozzi's dry pipeline. Pirozzi tried to paint Brown as out of touch with the district and castigated him for feathering his own pension and voting for salary increases at a time when unemployment ran high among his Inland Empire constituency. But the message fell flat. As with Republicans elsewhere, Pirozzi suffered when many Republican voters opted out of the election, while area Democrats — energized by spirited legislative races for the Senate and Assembly — spent a ton of money getting out their vote in San Bernardino County. The result: George Brown's most comfortable victory since the Lincoln presidency.

District 43 (38% D - 47% R)		
Rayburn (D)	55,443	(38)
Calvert (R*)	**81,532**	**(56)**
Courtney (G)	5,411	(4)
Wallack (NL)	4,092	(3)

Riverside Republican Ken Calvert easily won his fourth term in Congress.

District 44 (41% D - 44% R)		
Waite (D)	56,224	(36)
Bono (R*)	**94,509**	**(60)**
Meuer (NL)	6,664	(4)

Democrat Ralph Waite captured 36 percent of the vote even though he withdrew from the race before Labor Day and did not campaign. Had he hung in there against Mary Bono, widow of Sonny, he might have upped his total to, oh, say, 39 percent.

District 45 (32% D - 50% R)		
Neal (D)	58,406	(37)
Rohrabacher (R*)	**91,575**	**(59)**
Hull (L)	4,206	(3)
Verkamp (NL)	2,052	(1)

Democrat Patricia Neal, a former president of the California Association of Realtors, believed that with enough money and expert advice, she could pull off the same kind of upset against incumbent Dana Rohrabacher that Loretta Sanchez did two years ago next door. *Wrong.* She raised $300,000, including a $150,000 personal loan, ran advertisements, and used Sanchez's consultants — and *still* got walloped by 20 points. Which proves there aren't nearly as many Republicans unhappy with Rohrabacher as Neal claimed there were.

District 46 (46% D - 37% R)		
Sanchez (D*)	**46,307**	**(56)**
Dornan (R)	32,467	(39)
Reimer (L)	2,243	(3)
Engwall (NL)	1,295	(2)

Sanchez

Dornan

With her re-election easily in hand on November 3, Democrat Loretta Sanchez bid "adios" to her GOP nemesis, Bob Dornan. And undoubtedly many Republicans felt the same way about the ex-congressman, now that his inflammatory rhetoric and insulting antics have securely galvanized the Latino vote in central Orange County for Democrats, who knocked off two GOP legislators in the same area. Since the 1996 election, when Sanchez upset Dornan by 984 votes, a cloud has hung over the Latina Democrat because of Dornan's insistence that his office was stolen from him through voter fraud. He first took his case to Congress, where for a year he implored his Republican colleagues to overturn the election. When that didn't work, he came home to run for his old seat against the wishes of many in his party. Dornan overcame three opponents in June to get the nomination, which cost him all of his $1.7 million war chest. But then House Republicans in a highly unusual and controversial maneuver gave Dornan $320,000, claiming it was for the cost of his unsuccessful legal challenge. Sanchez received $250,000 as well, but since her expenses had been borne by a special legal defense account, none of her reimbursement could go to her 1998 re-election effort. The money for Dornan proved critical to keeping his campaign alive, and House Republican leaders further assisted Dornan by showing up at his fund raisers. Altogether, Dornan raised $3.4 million for his bid, while Sanchez pulled in $3 million, making the campaign the second-most-expensive in congressional history. As it turned out, Sanchez had more money than she knew what to do with. She was so confident in the closing days of the campaign that she contributed $40,000 to some of her Democratic colleagues and spent the weekend before the election stumping in Nevada, Utah and Texas. And when she appeared publicly in the district, it was without Dornan, whom she refused to debate because of his insults. That didn't stop Dornan from attacking Sanchez, especially for being pro-choice. One very controversial mailer Dornan sent to 50,000 Latino households featured pictures of a Catholic saint, Our Lady of Guadalupe, along with images of late-term abortions. Dornan, in fact, dedicated his campaign to the Catholic saint, while declaring himself to be the only "true" Latino in the race because of his Catholic beliefs and steadfast opposition to abortion. But the effort only further alienated him from Latinos, who had to put up with his crashing a Latino-sponsored social event and suggesting that guards be posted at polling places to ensure that only citizens participated in the election. When Latinos went to the polls, they once again went overwhelmingly for Sanchez, and so did many from the district's Vietnamese community, which in the past supported Dornan. Republicans also backed Sanchez and in greater numbers than '96. According to exit polling, Sanchez increased her share of the vote in Republican precincts, while Dornan's share dropped in all but three of them. She won a majority in four GOP precincts, including her home neighborhood, where Republicans outnumber

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Democrats, 58 percent to 32 percent. Given the 17-point drubbing Dornan endured overall, many are hoping he'll give up running for office. But he won't necessarily disappear from public view, as he reportedly is looking for a radio or TV gig to continue his crusade against the "fog of evil" that has descended upon the land.

District 47 (29% D - 54% R)

Avalos (D)	54,422	(29)
Cox (R*)	**124,147**	**(67)**
Wagner (R)	2,821	(2)
Fisher (NL)	1,230	(1)
Mills (R)	1,295	(1)

If NBC ever needs a new lead for its series "The Pretender," perhaps they should call Republican Christopher Cox. First, he was going to go after U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer. Then, there was his recent, weekend-brief candidacy for House speaker.

District 48 (27% D - 54% R)

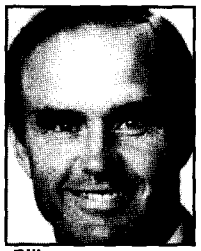
Packard (R*)	**137,766**	**(77)**
Muhe (L)	18,351	(10)
Miles (NL)	23,043	(13)

The big news in this San Diego district: The Natural Law candidate outpolled the Libertarian by more than 4,000 votes. Otherwise, it was a walkover for eight-term incumbent Republican Ron Packard.

District 49 (39% D - 38% R)

Kehoe (D)	86,167	(47)
Bilbray (R*)	**90,329**	**(49)**
Lippe (L)	3,318	(2)
Simon (NL)	2,821	(2)
Jordan (PF)	2,442	(1)

Everyone knew that fire would strike this district, represented for the past four years by incumbent Republican Brian Bilbray. Like other San Diego districts, voters cross party lines almost as frequently as they cross the border into Mexico. Plus, the district harbors a larger-than-normal share of independents — making it a natural battleground. Two years ago, Bilbray beat back a challenge from Democrat Peter Navarro, who had just lost a tough mayoral race to Republican Susan Golding. This time around, however, Bilbray drew an opponent who had a successful electoral track record — City Councilwoman Christine Kehoe. Kehoe was seeking to become the first openly gay woman to be elected to the House, and that drew national attention and a lot of money and resources from gay groups and from EMILY'S List. With most polls showing the race close, she also drew support from congressional Democrats eager to strip away another GOP seat. Toward the end, Republicans considered Bilbray one of the three most vulnerable incumbents in the country — a tag justified by the result. The campaign itself was hard-hitting from the get-go but degenerated markedly as Election Day approached. Kehoe made Bilbray the issue, beaning him repeatedly with acid-like mailers that focused on his voting record on issues such as the Clinton impeachment, the environment and Social Security. Although many of the charges against Bilbray were wildly exaggerated, they put the incumbent on the defensive to explain his record. One late Kehoe TV ad referred to Bilbray as "everything you hate about Washington." Bilbray also waded in with a few exaggerations of his own. In one TV ad, he tried to paint Kehoe as fiscally inept, claiming that she and other local officials were responsible for creating a city budget crisis. That broadside angered not only Kehoe but Golding, who grumbled publicly that San Diego's budget was balanced and that Bilbray was flat wrong in his accusation. Bilbray and Kehoe also clashed over legitimate issues, such as education policy — with Bilbray voicing support for and Kehoe opposition to school prayer and vouchers. Ultimately, the Democratic tide didn't quite sweep high enough to carry Kehoe over the top against an incumbent who had built a strong track record as a county supervisor before heading off to Congress.


Bilbray

District 50 (49% D - 29% R)

Filner (D*)	**76,978**	**(100)**

We warned that this would be a bloodbath, and the campaign didn't disappoint. Filner survived the onslaught but his percentage of the vote was pitifully low.

District 51 (30% D - 49% R)

Kripke (D)	71,428	(35)
Cunningham (R*)	**125,790**	**(61)**
Anderson (L)	5,392	(3)
Bourdette (NL)	3,518	(2)

Democrat Dan Kripke beat Democratic registration by 5 points. Unfortunately, that still put him 14 points behind GOP registration, which four-term incumbent Republican Randy Cunningham beat by 12 points. Kripke tried to make an issue out of Cunningham's demeanor, which included an obscene gesture for which he had to apologize. But even a Democratic tide and boorish behavior weren't enough to overcome solid GOP numbers and the power of incumbency.

District 52 (37% D - 43% R)

Hunter (R*)	**114,173**	**(76)**
Badler (L)	21,508	(14)
Pelton (NL)	15,033	(10)

Aha! The Natural Law folks don't have it all their way (see District 48 above). Libertarians beat them here by 6,000 votes. So there. Incumbent Republican Duncan Hunter beat them both, of course.

By The Numbers

Number of California's 58 counties that voted "no" on Prop. 5:	15
Amount Prop. 9 would have saved from consumers' electric bills, according to a California Energy Commission study:	11-18%
Number of days after the election that the state commission released that estimate:	14
Amount utility companies spent to defeat Prop. 9:	$40 million
Number of states besides California with Democratic sweeps in the governors office, Legislature, Congress and U.S. Senate:	2

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State Senate

Democrats muscled up their majority by increasing from 23 to 25 members, while Republicans saw their caucus diminished by one. As expected, Democrats picked up the San Francisco seat previously held by independent Quentin Kopp. But they did not expect to grab the other seat — the Orange County district held by former Minority Leader Rob Hurtt. Knocking off conservative kingmaker Hurtt may have been the Democrats' sweetest Election Day victory in years. Although Hurtt was taken out by a political neophyte, he can hang his defeat at the door of one Robert Dornan. Hurtt's district overlapped with Dornan's attempt to regain the congressional district he lost in 1996 to Democrat Loretta Sanchez, and the Dornan-Sanchez dust-up (see page 23) energized Latinos in Hurtt's district and brought them out in droves for Democratic candidates.

Elsewhere, Democrats made a strong bid to unseat Republican Dick Monteith in the Modesto area, falling some 18,000 votes short with former Assemblyman Sal Cannella. They also beat back a well-financed challenge from Republican John Jordan, a multi-millionaire trying to capture the north coast seat previously held by Democrat Mike Thompson. And they elected Assemblyman Joe Baca to the San Bernardino County seat long held by Democrat Ruben Ayala — a seat Republicans also tried to make competitive with a large infusion of cash.

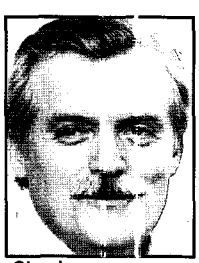
Senate President pro Tempore John Burton of San Francisco returns to a caucus heavy with Assembly veterans and a new infusion of Latinos. Joining the ranks are former Assembly members Baca, Jackie Speier, Kevin Murray, Debra Bowen, Martha Escutia, Liz Figueroa, Don Perata and Deborah Ortiz.

The Democrats' 25-15 majority makes it virtually impossible for Republicans to gain control of the Senate in 2000, making Democrats the party that will preside over reapportionment in 2001. Only three Democratic seats up in 2000 can be considered vulnerable — those held by Pat Johnston, Adam Schiff and Betty Karnette. Two GOP-held seats (Bruce McPherson and Richard Rainey) fall into the same category.

— *A.G. Block*

District 2 (51% D - 30% R)

Chesbro (D)	**124,777**	**(51)**
Jordan (R)	101,163	(42)
Garay (PF)	16,943	(7)



Chesbro

Jordan

As expected, it was a mud bath. And as expected it wasn't settled until well after midnight on Election Night. But when the dust, or mud, cleared and after a record-breaking $6 million had been spent, former Humbolt County Supervisor Wes Chesbro had bested coffee shop owner John Jordan, a 20-something political newcomer and heir to an oil and wine fortune. Chesbro, who sits on the Integrated Waste Management Board, used much of his $2.5 million to convince voters in this wine country district that the state Senate should not be used as an entry-level political position. Chesbro focused on his experience, though he downplayed some of his more liberal votes cast while he was on the board of supervisors. Jordan, meanwhile, went to the "fresh face" card, a tough sell everywhere in this status quo election. Jordan threw everything he had at Chesbro, even sending out a mailer bashing the 1960s' supervisor for "supporting the enemy" during the Vietnam War. He also tried to convince voters that Chesbro was a carpetbagger for owning a house in Sacramento, but not even more than $2.5 million of the family fortune and another half a mil from the Senate Republican leadership could reverse the sweeping Democratic tide that led to major legislative victories for Democrats statewide.

District 4 (44% D - 39% R)

DeSio (D)	98,251	(43)
Johannessen (R*)	**129,468**	**(57)**

Public affairs specialist Mark DeSio triumphed in liberal-leaning Yolo and Solano counties, but incumbent Maurice Johannessen has a solid grip on the rest of the sprawling district. Voters can look forward to a bloodier battle next time out, when Johannessen gets the term-limit boot.

District 6 (49% D - 35% R)

Ortiz (D)	**121,692**	**(55)**
Quackenbush (R)	90,516	(41)
Klaas (L)	7,765	(4)

Ortiz

Quakenbush

It was a day of mixed results in the Quackenbush family. Chuck was re-elected insurance commissioner and now equals half of all Republican statewide officeholders in California. Meanwhile, in the Sacramento-area Senate seat left vacant by retiring Democrat Leroy Greene, the commish's wife, Chris Quackenbush, tried unsuccessfully to start her political career. Contributions from the insurance industry filled the campaign coffers of both members of the Quackenbush clan, and Chris pitched in $300,000 of her own fortune as well as more than $350,000 from the Senate Republican leadership in what was one of the five most competitive Senate races this fall. Quackenbush's efforts were not enough to slow the meteoric rise of former Sacramento City Councilwoman and Assemblywoman Deborah Ortiz, who received a significant boost from Senate President pro

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Tempore John Burton and Company to withstand a barrage of attack ads from the Quackenbush camp. Ortiz, a former staffer for Senator Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles), is a member of both groups that made significant headway in the state Senate this election: women and Latinos. Both groups will continue to play a prominent role in Burton's leadership team. But on her road to the Senate, Ortiz sent out mailers picturing herself with Governor Pete Wilson and Republican gubernatorial nominee Dan Lungren. You'd be hard-pressed to find any other Democrat, let alone one with a Latino surname, employing such tactics this election season. But Ortiz wasn't taking any chances and made sure to quell concerns that she was too liberal for the moderate senatorial district. It was all the political masterminding of consultant Richie Ross, who went a perfect five-for-five in hotly contested elections this year.

District 8 (56% D - 22% R)

Speier (D)	**154,841**	**(79)**
Tomlin (R)	40,545	(21)

The victory of former Assemblywoman Jackie Speier was one of two Democratic pickups this November, but there's an asterisk in the record books. The heavily Democratic district was the province of iconoclastic independent Quentin Kopp and was pretty much a lock to go back to the Democrats once Kopp was termed out.

Special Election

District 9 (67% D - 12% R)

Perata (D)	**149,071**	**(77)**
Wright (R)	31,058	(16)
Feinland (PF)	12,991	(7)

When state Senator Barbara Lee won election to Congress, it set off a chain of events that left Alameda Assemblyman Don Perata with an embarassment of riches. Perata, who started the season as a candidate for re-election, decided to run in the autumn special election to fill Lee's seat despite the presence of two strong rivals, fellow Assembly member Dion Aroner and Alameda County Supervisor Keith Carson. Although Carson had Lee's backing, Aroner was considered the stronger of the two, with a solid ground organization and an issue to bash Perata — his support of the discredited deal to bring the football Raiders back to Oakland. Perata also had to take time off from campaigning to care for his ailing father. But Perata also had an extremely well-oiled mail campaign, anchored by an almost unprecedented vote-by-mail push. Although Aroner won the Election Day balloting in the September special election by more than 2,000 votes, Perata's absentee campaign — which produced nearly half of his total vote — pushed him over the top. Since he failed to win the seat outright in September, the resulting runoff took place in conjunction with the general election. The result: Perata not only won the Senate seat but also won re-election to his Oakland-based Assembly seat. With no leadership intrigues to tie him down, Perata will make an orderly transition, leaving his Assembly seat open for a whole new crop of wannabes that includes Oakland mayor (and former Assemblyman) Elihu Harris.

District 10 (52% D - 28% R)

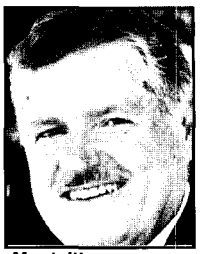
Figueroa (D)	**125,717**	**(69)**
Gough (R)	57,468	(31)

With a 24-point registration edge in this Alameda County district, Assemblywoman Liz Figueroa's toughest battle was in the primary, where she faced fellow Assembly member Mike Sweeney. Sweeney's campaign proved far more energetic than the candidate himself, as he ripped Figueroa with a 10-page mailer detailing tax liens against her. The Figueroa camp got the last laugh when it was revealed the mailer had included personal information about Figueroa. With the lion's share of the heavyweight endorsements and the help of late transfers from the Latino Caucus, Figueroa bested Sweeney, and made short work of Republican planner Bob Gough.

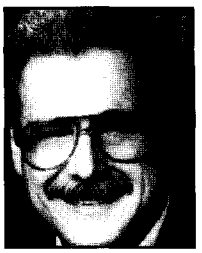
District 12 (47% D - 39% R)

Cannella (D)	81,885	(44)
Monteith (R*)	**99,828**	**(53)**
Gowland (L)	5,840	(3)

Democrats ignored the fact that incumbent Republican Dick Monteith received 56 percent of the vote in the open primary. With a shortage of contested races and campaign coffers overflowing with cash, Senate President pro Tempore John Burton came in heavy for former Assemblyman Sal Cannella to try to unseat Monteith, who wrested the seat from Democratic incumbent Dan McCorquodale in 1994. Whatever mud was left over from the Jordan-Chesbro race was thrown around here,



Monteith



Cannella

with Cannella launching personal attacks on Monteith. Even the *Modesto Bee* said it was "disappointed" with Cannella's "heavy-handed and below-the-belt" mail campaign. The senator responded that Cannella went on the offensive only to disguise the fact that given half a chance, he and his liberal brethren would sell the Central Valley down the river without so much as a second thought. This was one of the few trench battles where Republicans actually repelled the Democratic onslaught, returning Monteith for his second, and final, term.

District 14 (39% D - 42% R)

Poochigian (R)	**165,936**	**(100)**

With the Republican bench all but depleted of plausible future statewide candidates, a betting person could do worse than to place their money on Senator-elect Chuck Poochigian, who sailed into office uncontested.

District 16 (54% D - 33% R)

Costa (D*)	**88,024**	**(72)**
Palmer (R)	34,389	(28)

Believe it or not, some folks thought veteran legislator Jim Costa might face a difficult re-election in this Central Valley district. But that was before the blanket primary, when he outpolled Republican Gregg Palmer two-to-one. Costa did even better in the general election.

District 18 (42% D - 39% R)

O'Connell (D*)	**147,253**	**(67%)**
Klemm (R)	69,997	(32)
Ray (L)	3,857	(2)

Look in the dictionary under "effective legislator," and you'll find a picture of Jack O'Connell. Asked after the election if he planned to continue setting up card tables on district street corners now that he is termed out and cannot seek another legislative office, the Democratic incumbent said, "Yep." O'Connell likes these impromptu meetings with constituents — which is one reason he ran a whopping 25 points

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ahead of registration. A former teacher, O'Connell already is being touted as a candidate for superintendent of public instruction in 2002.

District 20 (57% D - 25% R)

Alarcon (D)	**80,682**	**(66)**
McCaulley (R)	33,554	(27)
Starr (L)	8,234	(7)

The November contest in this San Fernando Valley district was the ultimate anti-climax, coming as it did after an ear-splitting, nail-biting primary. Los Angeles Councilman Richard Alarcon and former Assemblyman Richard Katz spent more than $1.5 million between them in the run-up to June, most of it going to some of the harshest mail yet seen in a Democratic Senate primary. The most controversial of them all was a last-minute letter from Latino Caucus pooh-bah Senator Richard Polanco which sought to link Katz with Pete Wilson, a pariah in the Latino community, as well as with the GOP's 1988 hiring of poll guards to suppress Latino voting in an Assembly race. Katz accused Polanco and Alarcon of race-baiting. Alarcon subsequently apologized for the mailer, but in turn accused Katz of race baiting in his mail, notably with one titled "Dirty Hands." Thanks to a turnout effort widely held to be the year's best, Alarcon woke up the morning after the election 800 votes ahead of Katz. Subsequent absentee counting, however, drew the margin to an impossibly narrow 29 votes. Katz asked for a recount, and also sued to overturn the result, saying the Alarcon campaign was guilty of fraud. When the recount started badly, Katz dropped it, and he was eventually induced to drop the lawsuit as well. Alarcon's relatively uneventful November victory clears the way for another spirited election campaign, this one in the coming special election to fill his seat on the Los Angeles City Council. Valley Assemblyman Tony Cardenas is said to be among those eyeing a run for the seat, hoping to follow the lead of Alarcon, who was the first Latino from the Valley ever elected to the council.

District 22 (64% D - 17% R)

Polanco (D*)	**63,395**	**(90)**
Suede (PF)	7,435	(10)

East Los Angeles incumbent Richard Polanco had a good year as a king- (and queen-) maker in 1998. His involvement in the campaigns of the aforementioned Alarcon, as well as in that of Liz Figueroa helped propel them to primary victories. He also provided support for two other successful Latino Senate candidates running in contested general elections — Deborah Ortiz in the 6th District and Joe Baca in the 32nd. Thus the three-member Latino Caucus in the Senate has grown to seven, and all but one are considered to be Polanco allies. Should current President pro Tempore John Burton be keeping one ear cocked for footsteps behind him? Absolutely not, Polanco insists, but considering the role the pro tem will play in the redistricting process, Polanco has certainly given Burton something to think about.

District 24 (57% D - 24% R)

Solis (D*)	**84,401**	**(74)**
Taylor (R)	27,462	(24)
Goldsworthy (L)	2,981	(3)

Incumbent Hilda Solis is considered a reliable vote against Polanco if he should make a run at Burton.

District 26 (76% D - 10% R)

Murray (D)	**120,430**	**(89)**
Key (R)	12,414	(9)
Weber (L)	3,355	(2)

The only real uncertainty in the race to replace termed-out incumbent Diane Watson was settled in the primary, when Assemblyman Kevin Murray bested former Assemblywoman Marguerite Archie-Hudson. The expensive primary campaign provided more than its share of fireworks, and at times the two appeared to be surrogates for a larger power struggle between L.A. Supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, who backed Archie-Hudson, and Representative Maxine Waters, who supported Murray. In the end, Murray's Assembly district was stocked with more high-propensity voters. The astute future senator figures to be a presence in the Senate's election and reapportionment strategies as the new millennium approaches.

District 28 (51% D - 31% R)

Bowen (D)	**112,753**	**(65)**
Knott (R)	56,055	(32)
Donner (L)	6,174	(3)

Upward-moving Assemblywoman Debra Bowen doubles on her underfunded Republican opponent, a rare bit of comfort for someone who always seemed to be battling to hold her Assembly seat.

District 30 (65% D - 21% R)

Escutia (D)	**78,622**	**(74)**
Robertson (R)	23,901	(23)
McCready (L)	3,711	(3)

The San Gabriel Valley seat being relinquished by termed-out Senator Charles Calderon is handed over to Assemblywoman Martha Escutia, one of three new Latinas in the state Senate. Escutia had initially thought she'd face a fight with colleague Grace Napolitano, but the latter decided to run for Congress instead.

District 32 (52% D - 33% R)

Baca (D)	**75,153**	**(59)**
Ulloa (R)	49,097	(38)
Ballard (L)	4,262	(3)

Baca

Ulloa

Despite a 19-point registration deficit, Republicans have crowed over the years that this San Bernardino County district would fall to them once long-time incumbent Democrat Ruben Ayala left the Legislature. The GOP was encouraged by the fact that the district has voted for Republican statewide candidates in past elections, including Pete Wilson, Michael Huffington and Bruce Herschensohn. They thought they had nominated the perfect candidate — Chino Mayor Eunice Ulloa, a moderate Latina who could appeal to the district's large ethnic population. They also considered the Democratic candidate — termed-out Assemblyman Joe Baca — something of a lightweight. The entire Inland Empire area promised to be an election furnace, with competitive races for two Assembly seats (61 and 62) and a congressional district (42) also on the docket. But as results elsewhere showed, this was not a good year to run as a Republican. Democrats swept to comfortable victories in all four races, with Baca having a relatively easy time dispatching Ulloa. The Democrat had strong financial support from Indian tribes, as well as from the usual suspects of Democratic contributors such as labor and other members of the Senate caucus. The state central com-

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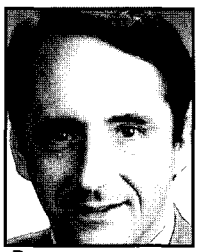
mittee augmented his treasury with a cool $250,000 during the final two weeks. Even the NRA kicked in with $3,000 to cement Baca's reputation as a conservative Democrat. Ulloa, on the other hand, was a financial creature of GOP state Senator Jim Brulte and his Senate Republican Leadership Fund, which pumped heavy cash into her campaign. It wasn't enough, however, to overcome the Democrats' solid get-out-the-vote and absentee programs in a cluster of Inland Empire districts.

District 34 (44% D - 39% R)

Dunn (D)	**60,276**	**(51)**
Hurtt (R*)	57,653	(49)

Of all the things that went right for Democratic lawmakers on Election Day, this was the toast of their achievements. Senator Rob Hurtt — former GOP minority leader, co-founder of the once mighty Allied Business PAC and big-money backer of conservative candidates — went down in the year's biggest legislative upset. Although attorney Joe Dunn gets credit for taking down Hurtt, atmospherics played a huge role in this central Orange County seat. First of all, ex-Congressman Bob Dornan made things tough for Hurtt and other area Republicans with his decision to go after incumbent Loretta Sanchez, who upset Dornan two years ago. This part of Orange County, which includes Garden Grove, Santa Ana and Anaheim, has a sizable Latino population that has become a significant voting bloc, thanks to Proposition 187 and Dornan's anti-Latino antics. So with Dornan stirring things up above and another rematch happening below between Latino Democrat Lou Correa and GOP incumbent Assemblyman Jim Morrissey, Dunn found himself in a very cozy nest of Democratic campaigns. Dunn admitted in the early going that his effort would have been tougher had Dornan not been around. He also benefitted from Hurtt's reputation for ignoring his district and appearing bored with his duties in Sacramento, which Dunn used in his mailers. One piece featured Hurtt's face on a milk carton. But the hit pieces were balanced by positive efforts to win over voters. In addition to cookie-cutter themes like better schools, a healthy job environment and gang-free communities, Dunn's campaign delivered 20,000 mums across the district just before the election, one flower to every woman over 60 who was registered to vote, regardless of party affiliation. Of course, the "plant drop" and his late mailers wouldn't have happened had he not received late financial help. As of mid-October, Dunn managed to raise $250,000 on his own, mostly from lawyers. Then, in the last two weeks of the campaign, he raked in another $600,000 from attorneys, labor and Democrats in Washington, D.C., and Sacramento. Hurtt, meanwhile, didn't take the challenge lightly. He bankrolled his million-dollar campaign with a $700,000 loan from his business and dropped numerous mailers in the closing days, attacking Dunn for being a trial lawyer and for lawsuits against police departments for reckless high-speed chases. At the same time, Hurtt touted his own law-enforcement credentials, citing his support from Orange County Sheriff-elect Mike Carona and other police officials. But he wasn't able to convince voters that his high number of missed Senate votes was an aberration resulting from a family crisis. Earlier this year, Hurtt's sister suffered a stroke, from which she later died, which forced the senator to spend considerable time at home instead of in Sacramento.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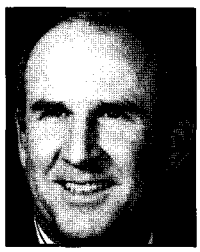
Hurtt

District 36 (35% D - 49% R)

Swift (D)	83,368	(40)
Haynes (R*)	**125,562**	**(60)**

Republican Ray Haynes won his second and final term in the Senate, but the Moreno Valley lawmaker faces a frustrating two years as a staunch conservative in a house dominated by liberals and moderates.

District 38 (30% D - 50% R)

Arakelian (D)	74,263	(33)
Morrow (R)	**136,179**	**(60)**
King (L)	4,297	(2)
Blair (NL)	5,803	(3)
Carl (I)	5,479	(2)

Republican Bill Morrow has some big shoes to fill as he four-wheels over from the Assembly. He replaces the highly respected Bill Craven, the long-time GOP lawmaker termed out in 1998.

District 40 (45% D - 35% R)

Peace (D*)	**103,362**	**(66)**
Divine (R)	47,346	(30)
Graham (L)	5,172	(3)

Incumbent Democrat Steve Peace crushed his Republican opponent, running some 20 points ahead of Democratic registration. Peace, termed out in 2002, will now be looking to fulfill his political ambitions. Congress, anyone?

Coming in January

California Journal **magazine, the most respected independent political publication in the nation's most important state, will have a new look for January 1999 — the start of its 29th year. The *Journal* will package its award-winning political coverage with a new design, new features, bold graphics — but the same solid reporting and lively writing.**

The January 1999 issue kicks off with Political Editor Steve Scott's in-depth look at new Governor Gray Davis and the administration he builds around him, while Associate Editor Anthony York probes the leaders who will guide the 1999 Legislature. Rookie lawmakers Charlene Zettel (R-Poway) and Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento) write about their first-term expectations. And as a compliment to their work, former Assemblyman Phil Isenberg (D-Sacramento) reveals how that first term will really unfold.

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Assembly

For Assembly Republicans, November 3, 1998, is a date that will live in infamy, for on that date, the GOP caucus suffered its worst election of the decade. Only four years after capturing a majority of seats in the lower house, Republicans took a pasting that saw them lose five districts and nearly lose two more. Gone were a pair of incumbents — Robert Prenter in Fresno and Jim Morrissey in Orange County. Gone, too, were seats previously held by Brooks Firestone (Santa Barbara), Fred Aguiar (San Bernardino) and Steve Kuykendall (Rancho Palos Verdes). Very nearly gone were seats once held by Nao Takasugi (Oxnard) and Larry Bowler (Sacramento).

Some of the wounds were self-inflicted. For instance, Firestone thought about running for re-election after being beat up by conservatives in a special congressional primary last year. But Republicans couldn't guarantee that Firestone wouldn't be savaged again, and he opted not to run. He likely would have held the seat captured by Democrat Hannah Beth Jackson. In the Aguiar seat, which is heavily Latino, Republicans nominated a right-wing Anglo who was defeated by a centrist Latina.

Self-inflicted wounds notwithstanding, Republicans were out-hustled by a Democratic campaign operation that schooled its candidates on the issues, kept them focused and provided timely resources for mail and get-out-the-vote efforts. Democrats also profited from constant internal polling that identified targets of opportunity to which they directed money and ground help. They also received late help from the top of the ticket, as gubernatorial hopeful Gray Davis channeled cash into selected Assembly campaigns during the last week of the election.

Democrats return to Sacramento with 48 seats, compared with 32 for Republicans. One Democrat will disappear in December when Oakland's Don Perata moves over to the Senate after winning a special election, but he will be replaced by another Democrat sometime in the spring. Republicans, meanwhile, tried to regroup in the week after the election, naming a new caucus chief, Riverside's Rod Pacheco. Los Angeles' Antonio Villaraigosa will retain his speakership but is in the enviable position of having a bunch of new mouths to feed with choice committee assignments when the house convenes in December.

The result also gives Democrats a leg up on the election of 2000, when Californians choose the Legislature that will draw new congressional and legislative districts for the next decade. Republicans would have to gain back nine seats to control the house — a daunting task under the best of circumstances but virtually impossible in an election that will feature a donnybrook for president.

— *A.G. Block*

District 1 (19% D - 31% R)

Strom-Martin (D*)	**78,529**	**(62)**
Crump (R)	42,066	(33)
Elizondo (PF)	5,922	(5)

Though she never looked like she'd have trouble, Democrats shored up Virginia Strom-Martin's coffers late in the game. No point in taking chances with this North Coast district, which in 1996 saw one of the costliest battles featuring then-newcomer Strom-Martin. This time around she was the easy favorite, trumping Sam Crump with even better numbers than in the uncontested primary, when she garnered 59 percent of the overall popular vote.

District 2 (39% D - 45% R)

Sullivan (D)	48,486	(40)
Dickerson (R)	**68,547**	**(57)**
Bret (L)	4,050	(3)

During the closing days of the campaign, when Democrats had more money than they knew what to do with and were looking for places to spend, former Shasta County Supervisor Francie Sullivan appeared as a blip on the Democrat brain trust's radar screens. But upon closer examination of the daunting registration numbers, the caucus balked on the race, save some late contributions from other women legislators. In the end, former Riverside police officer Richard Dickerson was elected just as he was expected to be in what is still a Republican district, despite this year's Democratic tsunami.

District 3 (38% D - 43% R)

Gruendl (D)	46,789	(39)
Aanestad (R)	**71,989**	**(61)**

Not even a tidal wave could help social-services administrator Scott Gruendl, who faced lopsided GOP numbers and well-funded Sam Aanestad, winner of a fierce primary showdown. The Republican oral surgeon replaces termed-out Bernie Richter.

District 4 (36% D - 47 % R)

Norberg (D)	50,580	(35)
Oller (R*)	**89,464**	**(61)**
Mulvany (L)	6,128	(4)

Enjoying a more than 30-to-1 cash advantage, incumbent Rico Oller had plenty of time for bear hunting.

District 5 (40% D - 44% R)

Davis (D)	48,486	(40)
Cox (R)	**79,126**	**(57)**
Frazier (L)	4,254	(3)

This one was settled in the primary when Sacramento County Supervisor Dave Cox bested conservative businessman Sam Paredes against the wishes of termed-out incumbent Republican Barbara Alby. After an unsuccessful run for the state Senate four years ago, Cox sailed to a comfortable victory this fall, far outpolling his Democrat challenger, Sacramento Municipal Utilities District Board member Linda Davis.

District 6 (51% D - 29% R)

Mazzoni (D*)	**92,256**	**(67)**
Weiner (R)	41,930	(31)
Persily (PF)	2,973	(2)

A relatively uneventful race in this upscale Marin County district turned ugly at the finish, though the candidates themselves had nothing to do with it. Campaign billboards on behalf of Republican Russ Weiner were defaced with anti-Semitic graffiti. Weiner, whose father is a conservative talk-show host, got some sympathetic media coverage, but his underfinanced campaign

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couldn't compete with a well-entrenched two-term incumbent like Kerry Mazzoni.

District 7 (54% D - 30% R)

Wiggins (D)	**73,230**	**(62)**
Sanchez (R)	39,609	(34)
Rodrigues (L)	3,344	(3)
Sutley (PF)	1,624	(1)

This was another race in which the termed-out incumbent tried to anoint a successor and failed. Valerie Brown backed her chief of staff, John Latimer, to take the baton for this Wine Country district, but he lost a narrow primary to Santa Rosa Councilwoman Pat Wiggins. Republicans made early rumblings about mounting a sleeper campaign with Bob Sanchez, but his dark horse hopes evaporated when he compared abortion doctors to Nazi butcher Joseph Mengele. Not the best platform to run on in this moderate district, and Wiggins was coronated without much of a whimper from the other side.

District 8 (50% D - 32% R)

Thomson (D*)	**68,608**	**(64)**
Thompson (R)	38,927	(36)

Early on, mischief makers in the Republican Party thought they might be able to confuse voters by running Woodland Planning Commissioner Toni Thompson against Democratic incumbent Helen Thomson. But no serious challenge ever materialized, and Thomson sailed to an easy re-election.

District 9 (61% D - 23% R)

Steinberg (D)	**62,834**	**(72)**
Dismukes (R)	24,183	(28)

The only speculation surrounding Darrell Steinberg was whether or not the Assembly leadership would name him the new chairman of the Public Safety Committee. At press time, the jury was still out.

District 10 (43% D - 42% R)

Gravert (D)	63,919	(48)
Pescetti (R)	**64,526**	**(49)**
Kohlhepp (L)	3,775	(3)

It's OK to breathe now. Had Republicans lost this seat, we might have seen effigies of former Republican Leader Bill Leonard burned on the Capitol steps by the party faithful. Although the GOP held on , the race is a good indicator of just how complete the Democratic victory was in California. Local utility district board member Anthony Pescetti survived a surprisingly strong challenge from legislative staffer Debra Gravert in a district that sent conservative Republican Larry Bowler to the Assembly for three consecutive terms. Gravert, chief of staff to Assemblyman Dick Floyd, came within a whisker of pulling off the upset of the year. After parting ways with campaign consultant Phil Giarizzo after the primary, she proceeded to carpet-bomb the district with issue-focused mail centered on senior care, education, health care and public safety. Not until the closing days of the campaign, when Democrats could smell blood, did the tenor of the race begin to change. Gravert blasted Pescetti for being a career politician who had run for numerous public offices, including a failed bid for the Los Angeles City Council. The mailer featured a picture of a U-Haul truck, labeling Pescetti as a political opportunist and playing on the animosity many people in the Central Valley feel toward the water-stealing, air-polluting citizens of Los Angeles. Pescetti also played the Los Angeles-bashing card, claiming Gravert was just a puppet for her former boss, who represents a Los Angeles district, and that she would bring a liberal Los Angeles agenda to this conservative, agriculture-based district. In the end, it was Pescetti by the slimmest of margins. On Election Day, his lead was just slightly more than 200 votes but increased as the absentees were tallied. But his close victory makes Pescetti a possible candidate for Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa to hit up for a vote when Democrats need Republicans to reach a two-thirds majority.

Pescetti

Gravert

District 11 (53% D - 29% R)

Torlakson (D*)	**73,917**	**(69)**
Payton (R)	32,990	(31)

Frustrated by his party's failure to field a candidate against incumbent Tom Torlakson, Antioch councilman Allen Payton ran as a write-in in the June primary and got enough votes to win a spot on the ballot. With an endorsement list and not much else, Payton managed to beat GOP registration by two points. Unfortunately for him, Torlakson beat Democratic registration by 14.

District 12 (57% D - 17% R)

Shelley (D*)	**79,319**	**(81)**
Fitzgerald (R)	19,247	(19)

San Francisco stalwart Kevin Shelley ponied up big time to the caucus election effort — not surprising given his position as majority floor leader.

District 13 (60% D - 13% R)

Migden (D*)	**92,750**	**(85)**
Bernard (R)	16,759	(15)

Another major donor to the victorious Democratic cause, San Francisco liberal Carole Migden will likely continue her run as chair of the Assembly Appropriations Committee.

District 14 (67% D - 11% R)

Aroner (D*)	**100,537**	**(87)**
Udinsky (R)	14,806	(13)

Freshman incumbent Dion Aroner had wanted to return to Sacramento as a senator, having run in the autumn special election to fill the seat of former Senator (and now Representative) Barbara Lee. Aroner ran well in her half of the district, centered around Berkeley, and got out the vote throughout the district. But she was outgunned in absentees and finished second to fellow Assemblyman Don Perata. Her consolation prize is a return trip to the Assembly, where she is regarded as one of the Legislature's more effective members.

District 15 (38% D - 45% R)

Brydon (D)	56,163	(38)
Leach (R*)	**87,646**	**(59)**
Wheat (L)	3,840	(3)

College dean Charles Brydon matched Democratic registration, but was no match for conservative incumbent Lynne Leach.

District 16 (65% D - 14% R)

Perata (D*)	**70,355**	**(80)**
Marshall (R)	17,287	(20)

For former Assembly Majority Leader Don Perata, it was quite an eventful year, one in which he lost his father and won two different seats in the Legislature. His victory in this Oakland-based Assembly race was a foregone conclusion from the start. But Perata also had his eye on the Senate seat vacated when Barbara Lee won

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election to Congress. Perata ran an effective absentee strategy and beat out fellow Assembly member Dion Aroner and Alameda Supervisor Keith Carson in the special election primary. With the runoff a foregone conclusion, Perata emerged with two offices. Given that the speakership is not in doubt in the Assembly, Perata will move over to the Senate when the Legislature convenes, leaving this seat open for a special election, expected to take place sometime next spring. Among the list of potential candidates is a familiar name — Oakland Mayor Elihu Harris, who served in the Assembly during the 1980s.

District 17 (50% D - 38% R)

Machado (D*)	**56,789**	**(69)**
Smart (R)	25,489	(31)

Democrat Mike Machado raised more than $520,000 for his race and held on to a good chunk of it. Presumably, he's saving up for a run at Pat Johnston's Senate seat when Johnston is termed out in 2000. After surviving close elections and recall efforts, Machado got a free ride this time, leaving him to plot his next political move.

District 18 (57% D - 25% R)

Corbett (D)	**62,255**	**(66)**
Nowicki (R)	32,636	(34)

A quiet autumn in this Alameda County district after a relatively noisy spring, which saw San Leandro Mayor Ellen Corbett defeat two local government rivals in the Democratic primary. Corbett touted her business ties in the primary while Hayward Councilman Bill Ward had support from the local development community. She had the advantage of being a mayor in a good year for insiders, as well as being the only woman in a three-person Democratic field. Her primary win essentially guaranteed her a ticket to Sacramento, as underfunded Carol Nowicki couldn't match Corbett's financial edge and the overwhelming Democratic registration advantage.

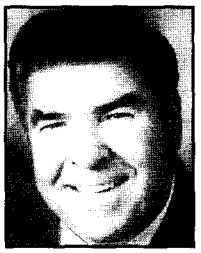
District 19 (54% D - 27% R)

Papan (D*)	**66,553**	**(71)**
Ferguson (R)	23,034	(25)
Marsland (L)	3,691	(4)

Surrounded by whippersnappers, veteran iconoclast Lou Papan's presence in the Assembly is the last echo of the pre-term-limit era.

District 20 (47% D - 31% R)

Dutra (D)	**50,000**	**(58)**
Zager (R)	36,713	(42)


Dutra

Republicans had this Fremont-based district on a low-grade watch list early in the general election campaign, mostly on the strength of the district's relatively weak Democratic registration. Fremont Councilwoman Jonelle Zager had some name identification and just enough money to guarantee she'd be given a look. But former Councilman John Dutra proved to be a prodigious fund raiser himself, drawing money from some usual donors as well as having his own personal resources. Outgunned, Zager fell off the GOP depth chart at the finish and Dutra won going away.

District 21 (47% D - 33% R)

Lempert (D*)	**78,294**	**(70)**
Atherly (R)	30,700	(28)
Bryant (NL)	2,732	(2)

Lempert

Ted Lempert, a moderate Democrat, runs against the term limit clock after this election, since he won a post-Proposition 140 election before heading off for a stint on the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors. Registration numbers could make the district worth a look for Republicans in the year 2000, if they can find the right candidate.

District 22 (47% D - 31% R)

Alquist (D*)	**56,782**	**(64)**
Kawcznski (R)	27,872	(31)
Rand (L)	3,286	(4)
Dunstan (NL)	1,309	(1)

First-termer Elaine Alquist, wife of ageless former Senator Al Alquist, wins an easy return ticket to Sacramento.

District 23 (56% D - 23% R)

Honda (D*)	**41,381**	**(76)**
DuLong (R)	13,332	(24)

Assured of his own re-election, incumbent Mike Honda spent most of his energy supporting the efforts of other Asian Democratic candidates.

District 24 (42% D - 39% R)

Stokes (D)	43,094	(39)
Cunneen (R*)	**63,011**	**(57)**
Strong (L)	4,255	(4)

Term limits finally catch up to energetic moderate Jim Cunneen. As always, Democrats gave him a look and decided their prospects were better elsewhere, but with Cunneen out of the picture, they may take a closer look in 2000.

District 25 (42% D - 43% R)

Firch (D)	38,512	(35)
House (R*)	**67,786**	**(62)**
Swickel (L)	1,964	(2)
Surratt (RF)	1,576	(1)

Certain things just go together: peanut butter and jelly, milk and cookies, and conservative George House and the 25th Assembly District.

District 26 (53% D - 33% R)

Cardoza (D*)	**48,205**	**(64)**
Hollingsworth (R)	25,041	(33)
Towe (AI)	878	(1)
Eaton (L)	1,101	(2)

The story here is that there was no story. After winning his first election by fewer than 200 votes, first-term incumbent Dennis Cardoza didn't have any major challenge this time around. Cardoza used the money he raised in anticipation of a tough re-election fight to give a boost to fellow Democrat Dean Florez, who knocked off Republican incumbent Robert Prenter in the southern part of the Central Valley.

District 27 (50% D - 29% R)

Keeley (D*)	**73,539**	**(65)**
Chavez (R)	34,865	(31)
Deardorff (L)	4,516	(4)

Democratic Caucus Chairman Fred Keeley had something of a mixed election season. On one hand, he easily won re-election to a second term and, as caucus chair, he was part of the leadership team that added five extra seats to his party's tally. On the other hand, he was responsible for the caucus' voter-registration effort that was victimized by fraudulent contractors who turned in bogus names in Southern California. That landed him a less-than-welcome gig on "60 Minutes." Plus, Keeley did not raise much cash for the caucus coffer.

District 28 (51% D - 33% R)

Styles (D)	37,498	(44)
Frusetta (R*)	**44,164**	**(52)**
Woods (L)	3,747	(4)

Well, one thing's sure: the Demo-

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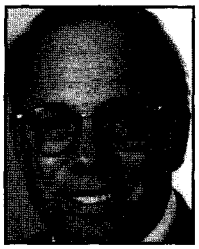
Frusetta


Styles

Florez

Prenter

crats will not lose to Peter Frusetta in this Assembly District ever again. That's only because Frusetta ultimately will be claimed by term limits after winning a third election to this Monterey County Assembly seat. Don't blame the Democrats for lack of trying. If Frusetta had a nickel for every dollar Democrats have spent against him in the last three elections, he'd be a very wealthy man. This time, Democrats thought they had their man in Salinas Mayor Alan Styles. But Frusetta is something of a personality cult in the district. He still holds some high school baseball records in the area, and his wife has strong ties to the politically active Portuguese community. It all proved too much for an all-out Democratic assault which took shots at Frusetta's ever-present cowboy hat and even went after his horse. Styles also tried to make an issue out of a speech Frusetta made to a local elementary school class where he cited Adolph Hitler as an example of someone who had overcome adversity. But voters sent a clear message that while Frusetta may be prone to misspeaking, they weren't buying that he was a Nazi and sent the "Cowboy in the Capitol" riding back to Sacramento for a third and final term.

District 29 (40% D - 47% R)

Briggs (R)	**80,587**	**(100)**

Democrats failed to make a run here. Fresno Councilman Mike Briggs used support from "three strikes" author Mike Reynolds to squeak out a narrow primary victory and twiddled his thumbs during the November formality.

District 30 (51% D - 35% R)

Florez (D)	**35,089**	**(54)**
Prenter (R*)	29,794	(46)

This race was another indicator of Democratic strength this time around, and another example of superior candidate recruitment by the Democrats. When Robert Prenter came out of nowhere in 1996 to knock off Republican Brian Setencich, who briefly became Assembly speaker with the blessing of Democrats and Willie Brown, it was clear he was going to be among the top targets in 1998. Democrats rewarded Setencich for betraying his fellow Republicans by not fielding any Democratic opposition in 1996. But Prenter, with strong financial backing from his uncle, conservative kingmaker Edward Atzinger III of the California Independent Business PAC, defeated the former speaker in the primary, and withstood a Setencich write-in campaign in the fall of '96. So Prenter was untested against a Democratic opponent in a district previously held by Democrats and with a Democratic registration edge of 16 points. The Dems hitched their chances to local boy Dean Florez, a Harvard-educated businessman and former staffer for Senator Art Torres. This was one of the most expensive Assembly contests this year and provided some of the most entertaining political commercials of any local race. Florez jumped on a gaffe by Prenter, who thought he had secured $250,000 for a community center for the district hamlet of Kerman. Prenter organized a press conference, complete with oversized check to present to local leaders, only to learn afterward that Governor Pete Wilson had vetoed the money out of the budget. Prenter was further embarrassed when it was revealed that he voted against the bill that would have provided the community center money in the first place. Both candidates raised the ever-sensitive Los Angeles issue, Prenter focusing on Florez's history as Torres' chief of staff. Florez pointed out that Prenter was raised in the Los Angeles area, and never failed to mention himself as a local boy with "Valley Values." Florez also owes a big assist to Governor-elect Gray Davis, who came in with a late six-figure check to help the campaign focus on getting out the vote in the district's small, rural pockets of heavily Latino, heavily Democratic voters. Florez's Valley values are sure to be tested now that Democrats have a larger, more liberal caucus in the lower house. Count on the four Central Valley Democrats to spend time at odds with some of the urban-focused Democratic agenda as their leader, Antonio Villaraigosa, prepares a run for Los Angeles mayor.

District 31 (57% D - 30% R)

Reyes (D)	**35,058**	**(59)**
Jackson (R)	24,384	(41)

Reyes

Jackson

Had the political climate been different, this may have been one of the races that went the other way. Republicans were salivating early over the prospects of capturing this seat held by former Speaker Cruz Bustamante. Their nominee, conservative farmer David Jackson, proved to be a crackerjack fund-raiser who used his folksy charm and charisma to give former television reporter Sarah Reyes a run for her money. Jackson was the top priority for Assembly Republicans up through the final days of the campaign, and, according to their internal polls, was running even with Reyes coming down the home stretch. Reyes, meanwhile, was labeled shrill and out of step with the district. The Democratic brain trust met with her after the primary and helped Reyes coordinate a campaign focused on dispelling some of the early fears about her being too liberal for the Fresno-area district. This was one of the races in which "three-strikes" author Mike Reynolds kept busy in front of television cameras, filming an early spot for the Republican nominee. Reyes countered by employing Bustamante to do TV and radio spots and ended up winning the proxy war. As it turned out, Reyes was not the candidate who was too ideologically removed from the center for this, perhaps the most moderate of Central Valley districts.

District 32 (38% D - 49% R)

Tucker (D)	27,871	(29)
Ashburn (R*)	**67,918**	**(71)**

Roy Ashburn spent this election

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season raising money and helping out other Republican candidates. That usually translates into a bid for caucus leadership, but Ashburn was notably absent from the race when it came time to replace Republican Leader Bill Leonard.

District 33 (40% D - 44% R)

Sanders (D)	43,441	(38)
Maldonado (R)	**69,184**	**(60)**
Bersohn (L)	2,672	(2)

Santa Maria Mayor and farmer Abel Maldonado proved himself to be an effective fund-raiser and strong candidate in the race to succeed Assemblyman Tom Bordonaro. He is also one of the three new members of the Republican Latino caucus, and could play a key role in helping the party rehabilitate its dismal image among Latinos across the state before the next election.

District 34 (36% D - 47% R)

Figueroa (D)	29,934	(33)
Olberg (R*)	**58,982**	**(64)**
Laing (L)	3,249	(4)

Two-term incumbent Keith Olberg returned to Sacramento and promptly threw his weight behind Rod Pacheco as the new minority leader. A pragmatic firebrand, Olberg is expected to play a major role in caucus activities during his final term.

District 35 (44% D -36% R)

Jackson (D)	**55,653**	**(53)**
Mitchum (R)	47,387	(45)
Dahl (NL)	2,749	(3)

Jackson

Mitchum

This was another big pick-up for Democrats, who recaptured the Assembly seat held by retiring Republican moderate Brooks Firestone. They were aided in their quest by Republicans themselves, who couldn't guarantee Firestone a free ride in the primary after he had been savaged by conservatives in his own party in a special congressional primary to replace the late Walter Capps. As a result, Firestone declined to seek re-election to a seat he likely would have won. It also forced Assembly Republicans to donate massive resources to a race they could have ignored in favor of contests elsewhere. Without Firestone, the race in this coastal Santa Barbara district became one of the most expensive and competitive in the state, pitting attorney Hannah-Beth Jackson against Firestone's would-be replacement — actor Chris Mitchum, son of the late actor Robert Mitchum. Mitchum was personally recruited by Assembly Republican Leader Bill Leonard, who believed Mitchum's slightly familiar face and famous family name could keep this seat in the Republican column. But Mitchum seemed at best unpolished and at worst ambivalent about his candidacy. With a strong libertarian stripe, Mitchum bristled at the constant sea of handlers and consultants who tried to mold him into the perfect candidate. According to Jackson, that handling included a wholesale repackaging of the political novice from conservative to moderate, a change she accentuated in her attacks on Mitchum. Though Mitchum had previously spoken out in favor of vouchers, he later said that, at the time of his statement, vouchers referred to public school choice rather than using public funds to send kids to private schools. Jackson also attacked Mitchum for changing his tune on the popular pro-choice, pro-environment positions espoused by much of this coastal district. Jackson, meanwhile, was accused of questionable courtroom tactics while practicing law, a charge that didn't gain much traction. Many Democrats went looking for a more moderate candidate before settling on Jackson, and as an assemblywoman she will have to watch her votes closely in her first term. With redistricting riding on the 2000 legislative elections, Jackson can count on a costly bid for re-election in this perennial battleground seat.

District 36 (35% D - 48% R)

Calderon (D)	33,685	(34)
Runner (R*)	**62,393**	**(63)**
Bashem (L)	3,110	(3)

First-termer George Runner made a run for the post of Assembly Minority Leader in the wake of the GOP's election debacle but lost to Rod Pacheco. No such problems with his constituents in the mountains of Los Angeles County.

District 37 (40% D - 41% R)

McGrath (D)	48,004	(48)
Strickland (R)	**49,335**	**(49)**
Farris (RF)	3,549	(4)

Strickland

It seems that just about every election cycle, there is a candidate or a race that just comes out of nowhere to catch everyone, including those on the inside, off guard. There were a couple such races this year, and one of them was in this Ventura County Republican enclave represented for the past six years by termed-out incumbent Nao Takasugi. Nobody doubted that the Republican primary would be hotly contested, pitting as it did former Wilson administration official Rich Sybert against conservative Tony Strickland, an aide to maverick right-winger Tom McClintock. Sybert, a two-time loser in congressional contests, was thought to have the upper hand against Strickland until he got caught on tape yanking up his opponent's yard signs. The self-destructive prank cost Sybert and almost cost the Republicans. Some in the GOP considered Strickland a little too much of a chip off the old boss, and the Democrats, it seems, had a legit challenger in Rosalind McGrath. A fourth-generation Ventura County resident whose grandfather has local parks named after him, McGrath — a teacher and a farmer — offered herself up as a moderate alternative to the pro-gun, anti-abortion-rights Republican. Strickland apparently didn't underestimate his opponent, sending out a couple of early mailers accusing her of being an extremist liberal. But nobody else seemed to pay much attention until about three weeks before the election, when Democrats claim their poll numbers showed Strickland could be had. Some $200,000 in late contributions poured into McGrath's coffers, most of it coming from the Democratic State Central Committee. That largesse bought McGrath daily mailers over the last week of the race, hitting Strickland for being out of step with the district. Once the race popped up on radar screens, the GOP started pouring money in as well, though some were still not quite convinced it wasn't a Democratic feint. Turns out that Assembly Democrats weren't sure themselves, and it wasn't

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until the very last weekend of the campaign that caucus funds were directed to the effort. It wasn't quite enough, however. Election Day saw McGrath behind by about 300 votes, and subsequent absentees boosted the margin by another thousand or so. It's too early to say whether Strickland will face problems two years down the road. The district has seen changes, thanks to the influence of L.A. refugees, but it is still inhospitable to Democrats. Unless they have another big year in 2000, this may be a case of a brass ring out of reach.

District 38 (39% D - 44% R)

McClintock (R*)	**76,991**	**(100)**

Maverick incumbent Tom McClintock, architect of the GOP's plan to eliminate the "car tax," drew no opposition, so he spent his time getting his aide Tony Strickland elected in the adjacent 37th District.

District 39 (61% D - 22% R)

Cardenas (D*)	**40,805**	**(87)**
Naira (L)	6,244	(13)

Having proven a Latino can get elected to the Legislature from the San Fernando Valley, freshman Tony Cardenas may be looking to take his act back home to L.A. Cardenas is reportedly considering a run for the city council seat being vacated by soon-to-be-Senator Richard Alarcon. Meanwhile, he raised thousands from Indian tribes, some — but not all — of it spent on behalf of his caucus.

District 40 (54% D - 28% R)

Hertzberg (D*)	**49,618**	**(69)**
DeLeuw (R)	18,458	(26)
Ross (L)	4,138	(6)

High-energy incumbent Bob Hertzberg spent his summer and fall passing out money and putting out fires for his buddy, Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa. Some say he's the heir-apparent.

District 41 (49% D - 34% R)

Kuehl (D*)	**79,987**	**(63)**
Jhin (R)	44,075	(35)
Honigsfeld (PF)	3,390	(3)

The congenial and highly intelligent Sheila Kuehl was a team player for the Democratic caucus and is well-positioned to make a run at the Senate seat whose current occupant, Tom Hayden, is running up against the term-limit time clock.

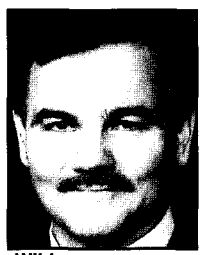
District 42 (56% D - 24% R)

Knox (D*)	**78,463**	**(74)**
Davis (R)	23,335	(22)
Lawrence (PF)	4,181	(4)

Two-termer Wally Knox represents the other half of the Hayden Senate district and could wind up going head to head with Kuehl in two years.

District 43 (45% D - 36% R)

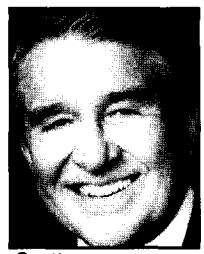
Wildman (D*)	**53,531**	**(65)**
Repovich (R)	25,933	(32)
White (L)	1,733	(2)
Buren (RF)	1,118	(1)


Wildman

If Barbara Boxer wins the crown as the luckiest Democratic candidate of the year, freshman Assemblyman Scott Wildman has to be first runner-up. Convinced his extremely narrow victory in 1996 could be overturned in an off-year election, the GOP was ready to pull out all the stops on behalf of 15-year LAPD veteran Peter Repovich. A perennial primary loser in past elections, Repovich nonetheless had a cop's resume and the endorsement of the Los Angeles Police Protective League. Unfortunately for the GOP, his badge had some smudges on it, most notably a 44-day suspension without pay after being found guilty of sexual harassment charges. The suspension was considered as tough a punishment as could be had short of outright dismissal. Still, many Republicans believe he might have survived the scandal had he not committed a second, arguably more egregious, error — he lied about it to the caucus brass. The double whammy pretty much finished him with his own party; the caucus pulled its consultant and area Representative James Rogan pulled his endorsement, as did the Police Protective League. Repovich's subsequent fund raising was pitiful, while Wildman, a former United Teachers of Los Angeles negotiator, racked up plenty of labor support. The result was a victory beyond even Wildman's wildest expectations. The GOP may yet have more reason to regret this missed opportunity. Demographic and registration trends in the Glendale-based district continue to move the Democrats' way. Without a GOP incumbent holding the line, the area could be lost for good after the next reapportionment.

District 44 (45% D - 38% R)

Scott (D*)	**63,298**	**(57)**
LaCorte (R)	44,989	(40)
Waddell (G)	1,416	(1)
Saurenman (L)	1,711	(2)
Corvalan (RF)	665	(0)


Scott

If for nothing else, the race for this Pasadena-centered suburban district would have been distinctive in having three candidates who had lost children to gun violence — incumbent Democrat Jack Scott, conservative Republican Ken LaCorte and Libertarian Ken Saurenman. But considering the closeness of the district's registration numbers, the real surprise is that the final result wasn't closer. Scott, a well-liked first termer, was nonetheless considered one of the GOP's top early targets, and he'd already been the target of a pre-primary independent hit from the Gun Owners of California. LaCorte, a protégé of Republican advertising pit bull Roger Ailes, made a name for himself by putting information about registered sex offenders up on the Internet. Though early polling showed Scott doing reasonably well, Democrats were concerned enough about the contest to sue to try to have Green Party candidate Shawn Waddell removed from the ballot (Waddell had a drug arrest on his record and an outstanding warrant for failure to appear). Scott and LaCorte spent most of the summer and fall trading potshots. In addition to the standard-issue "scary liberal" campaign, LaCorte also attacked Scott for taking taxpayer-financed junkets during his days as president of Pasadena City College. Scott insisted all the travel expenses were documented and there was nothing out of line. Scott emphasized LaCorte's ties with the National Rifle Association, accusing him of being against even modest firearms restrictions. While Scott was comfortably ahead in fund raising throughout the campaign, Democrats hit the panic button on the race about 10 days out. The panic drew about $200,000 in emergency help from the Democratic State Central Committee. As it turns

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out, the money wasn't needed — Scott wound up beating LaCorte by 17.

District 45 (63% D - 17% R)

Villaraigosa (D*)	**39,035**	**(82)**
Hedrick (R)	8,396	(18)

If there was one unalloyed winner in this year's legislative sweepstakes, it was Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa. Not only was he able to up his party's majority in the Assembly by five seats, but money was so plentiful that he was also able to make a last-minute generic television buy in the Los Angeles media market. The $300,000 ad buy may have helped Assembly Democrats, but it almost certainly helped Antonio Villaraigosa get his name and face before the good citizens of Los Angeles, citizens whom he presumably would like to serve as mayor. Such a campaign, if it happens, is still three years away but, given the difficulty others with Sacramento pedigrees have found running for L.A. mayor, it pays to get an early start. Villaraigosa's biggest challenge in the coming year will be to keep his liberal wing from throwing 16 years of pent-up legislation at a Democratic governor whose success will depend on how well he presents himself as a moderate.

District 46 (65% D - 16% R)

Cedillo (D*)	**21,085**	**(81)**
Kim (R)	4,936	(19)

Having taken this urban Los Angeles seat in a winter special election, incumbent Gil Cedillo wins his first full term against token GOP opposition.

District 47 (72% D - 13% R)

Wesson (D)	**77,599**	**(84)**
Leonard (R)	12,275	(13)
Fine (L)	2,532	(3)

This Culver City district, the most affluent of L.A.'s African American-influenced districts, saw a heated primary pitting the seconds of two other politicians. In a race that chewed through close to $1 million, Herb Wesson, an aide to L.A. Supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, bested Joey Hill, an aide to departing incumbent Kevin Murray. Like most other urban Democrats, Wesson had no real challenge in the fall, and like many other safe freshmen, took the opportunity to send around a few well-placed checks to less secure prospects.

District 48 (82% D - 6% R)

Wright (D*)	**42,479**	**(95)**
Woods (R)	2,383	(5)

Want to know how bad a year it was for the GOP? Ask Ernest Woods. Only 6 percent of the voting population in this urban L.A. district is Republican, and he didn't even get all of them.

District 49 (59% D - 23% R)

Romero (D)	**42,652**	**(71)**
Imperial (R)	15,699	(26)
Brown (L)	1,594	(3)

Latina psychology teacher Gloria Romero survived a bloody and expensive primary for the right to cakewalk into this western San Gabriel Valley seat being vacated by termed-out incumbent Diane Martinez. In fact, one of the candidates she had to defeat to get to the November coronation was Martinez's sister, Susie. A far more formidable primary foe was Judy Chu, a Monterey Park councilwoman who raised hundreds of thousands of dollars from the district's influential Asian community. Romero, a member of L.A.'s elected charter revision commission, had the support of Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, and her primary ground operation was joined at the hip with that of organized labor's campaign against Proposition 226, Governor Pete Wilson's union dues initiative. With heavy Latino support from the East L.A. section of the district, Romero bested Chu in the primary, and was comfortable enough to make some modest transfers to other legislative campaigns.

District 50 (69% D - 15% R)

Firebaugh (D)	**29,702**	**(85)**
Miller (R)	5,344	(15)

Latino attorney Marco Firebaugh had a little more than he bargained for in the primary from small-town mayor Elvira de Guzman in this San Gabriel Valley district. Despite the backing of a virtual who's who of Latino leaders, Firebaugh beat de Guzman by only a thousand votes or so. Most blame his poor primary showing on the fact that he ran against a woman who had a local government pedigree and a more "Latino sounding" last name. Once that hurdle was cleared, it was smooth sailing for Firebaugh in the fall, as he assumes the seat vacated by future Senator Martha Escutia.

District 51 (68% D - 16% R)

Vincent (D*)	**51,378**	**(77)**
Acherman (R)	12,895	(19)
Frankel (G)	2,546	(4)

Freshman Ed Vincent is one of a dwindling number of Democratic lawmakers who is an unabashed receptacle for tobacco industry contributions.

District 52 (75% D - 10% R)

Washington (D*)	**44,472**	**(100)**

The Reverend Carl Washington's prayers were answered with a free pass back to Sacramento.

District 53 (42% D - 39% R)

Nakano (D)	**73,000**	**(61)**
Eggers (R)	47,464	(39)

Nakano

Eggers

It is tempting to cite this contest as yet another example of the depth of the Democratic tide in 1998. In truth, however, the victory of Torrance Councilman George Nakano had much more to do with geography than political science. The district, which has been represented by maverick Democrat Debra Bowen, is independent-minded and somewhat conservative, but 40 percent of its residents live within the Torrance city limits. Bowen had to work for her share of the Torrance vote, but Nakano cleaned up in his home city in the primary and the general. This is not to say, however, that it was an easy run. Libertarian-leaning Republican Bill Eggers was highly touted by the state's Republican leadership. A supporter of abortion rights, Eggers also talked a lot about the environment, an important issue in this coastal district, which includes many of L.A. County's beach communities. But Eggers' writings as a researcher with the Reason and Heritage foundations gave Nakano's campaign plenty of extreme-sounding material to work with, and the campaign threw some of Eggers' own words back at him in its extensive mail campaign. Eggers threw everything at Nakano. He hit him for a contribution he received in

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1994 from one of the figures in the national Democratic fund-raising scandals. And in a wild late swing, he went back a decade to pluck a council vote that made it seem as though Nakano had opposed testing school bus drivers for drugs. Nakano says the attack distorted the actual vote, but it didn't really matter — Eggers was toast anyway. Some Republicans believe a stronger candidate might have made more of a race of it. But Nakano's strength in Torrance likely would have carried the day regardless, especially in a year where fortune smiled so sweetly on Democrats.

District 54 (45% D - 38% R)		
Lowenthal (D)	**52,576**	**(50)**
Alban (R)	49,827	(47)
Drake (AI)	1,843	(2)
Carlan (L)	2,016	(2)

Lowenthal

Alban

It has become something of a cliche to say of a well-played sporting event that "it's a shame you couldn't have two winners." The cliche fits in this spirited, expensive, but largely respectful contest for the Long Beach-based seat vacated by future Congressman Steve Kuykendall. Republican Julie Alban got most of the early attention, a function of her compelling personal saga. Alban, the daughter of Long Beach surgeon and GOP activist Sy Alban, was shot and paralyzed a decade ago but came back to earn a law degree and become a city prosecutor. Facing two more experienced rivals, Alban rode her notoriety, and about half a million dollars in personal and family support, to a big win in the Republican primary. That victory, it turns out, was only the beginning. Waiting to take her on was Long Beach Councilman Alan Lowenthal. A psychology professor at California State University, Long Beach, Lowenthal was a prime mover behind the revitalization of Long Beach's downtown area, including its showcase aquarium. Lowenthal made his civic success the centerpiece of his mail campaign, so much so that Alban mocked his efforts with a mailing featuring a picture of a dead fish. Alban's own mail seemed almost obsessed with spotlighting her personal tragedy — it was even mentioned in a mailing she did on the environment. The two took some low-grade potshots at each other — Alban accusing Lowenthal of overstating his record, Lowenthal noting that Alban hadn't voted in some recent statewide elections. By the standards of other competitive races, however, this one was relatively clean, and both candidates had enviable work ethics. The tightness of the contest drew a ton of late money — almost $800,000 in the last two weeks alone. Counting the primary, the contest likely will top the $2 million mark when all the bills are paid on both sides. But Lowenthal's ground operation proved just a little more effective than Alban's and the overall strength of the Democrats carried him the rest of the way, albeit by a considerably narrower margin than many other Democratic winners. The turnover of this seat from Republican to Democratic hands means that, of the 23 Assembly districts contained within Los Angeles County, Republicans represent exactly four.

District 55 (66% D - 17% R)		
Floyd (D*)	**43,421**	**(77)**
Eslinger (R)	11,163	(20)
Wilson (L)	2,089	(3)

With the departure of fellow Democrat Diane Martinez, veteran Dick Floyd becomes the undisputed champion in the Assembly "Curmudgeon Stakes."

District 56 (51% D - 34% R)		
Havice (D*)	**47,643**	**(53)**
Hawkins (R)	39,931	(44)
McKenzie (L)	2,351	(3)

Outside of her own office staff, there probably weren't many people in Sacramento who believed they'd see Sally Havice back next year. The first-term Bellflower Democrat barely won her seat in 1996, and her legislative record was hardly the stuff of legend. The Republicans had an experienced challenger in Phil Hawkins, a former incumbent who'd given up the seat in 1996 to make an unsuccessful run for state Senate. In the open primary balloting, Havice was one of only two incumbent Democrats to take less than half the vote, finishing a scant 1,000 votes

Havice

Hawkins

ahead of Hawkins. But that was before Team Havice, and its allies in the Democratic Party and organized labor, kicked it up a notch. Thanks to the state Democrats, Havice began an early mail program against Hawkins, attacking him for missing votes in the Legislature and for being too extreme on guns and abortion. Havice also zeroed in on a bill carried by Hawkins during his two-year Assembly stint that exempted the Downey Hospital's board of directors from the state's open meetings law. Sounds pretty tame, but the hospital's subsequent battle with the city of Downey over executive salaries and patient care drew Hawkins' measure some unwanted attention. For most of the early mail campaign, Hawkins pretty much sat on his hands waiting for the Assembly GOP Caucus to start sending him money. When Hawkins finally started hitting back, the attacks were stinging. A series of mailers depicted Havice with a Pinocchio-style growing nose, accusing her of misrepresenting Hawkins' legislative performance and her own poor attendance record. Even into the last two weeks of the campaign, there were still members of the Democratic team who wondered if it wasn't time to pitch Havice over the side and spend Democratic resources on capturing some of the other Republican seats that had suddenly popped into play. But Havice refused to die, harvesting every last labor volunteer she could find from nearby legislative races. One Democratic campaign aide in the neighboring 54th District complained that Havice's team had even "stolen" a horse they were using in their campaign. By the end of the race, one estimate put the number of volunteers working on Havice's behalf at more than 2,000. They did their jobs. By the last week of the campaign, Havice was feeling comfortable enough that she was actually sending some modest contributions to other Democratic challengers. Havice's strength as a candidate surprised many observers, but

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that was only part of the story. Hawkins turned out to be a somewhat lackluster challenger, seemingly content to let the caucus do most of the heavy financial lifting on his behalf. Having won only one of the four legislative races in which he's run, Hawkins will have a harder time in the future convincing the GOP brass he's ready for prime time.

District 57 (56% D - 26% R)

Gallegos (D*)	**39,568**	**(72)**
Gonzales (R)	15,351	(28)

There was nothing back-breaking about licensed chiropractor Martin Gallegos' easy re-election triumph.

District 58 (62% D - 23% R)

Calderon (D)	**50,847**	**(72)**
Nunez (R)	19,579	(28)

The brother of area Senator Charles Calderon, school board member Tom Calderon, benefitted from a clear field in the primary and token opposition in the general election while following in his older sibling's footsteps.

District 59 (39% D - 44% R)

Christiansen (D)	43,209	(42)
Margett (R*)	**57,033**	**(55)**
Johnson (L)	1,816	(2)
Allison (NL)	2,211	(2)

Even the seemingly comfortable Republicans in Los Angeles County were held below where their vote totals might otherwise have been expected. Incumbent Bob Margett finished 11 points ahead of registration, but in a normal year he probably would have cleared the 60 percent mark.

District 60 (43% D - 40% R)

Wong (D)	39,617	(45)
B.Pacheco (R)	**46,248**	**(53)**
Faegre (L)	2,135	(2)

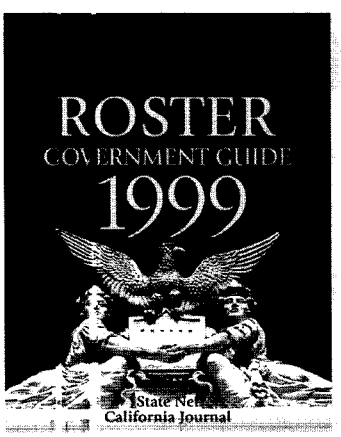
Even before the Democratic tide started sweeping over the state, Democrats thought they had a shot at this eastern San Gabriel Valley district. Like the Glendale and Pasadena-based 43rd and 44th, the movement of middle- and working-class Latinos had added some diversity to the comfortably suburban district. But unlike other contests where the GOP nominee gave Democrats an

Soto

DeMallie

opening, the right Republican emerged from the primary. Walnut Councilman Bob Pacheco is a conservative family man whose roots in the district and Latino background attracted the core GOP voter as well as some Democratic crossovers. West Covina Councilman Ben Wong was thought to be a worthy challenger early on, but he had trouble raising money. He also had to live down an episode in which he improperly used his official city identification to seemingly impersonate a police officer in a traffic dispute. With Wong unable to bring his own chips to the table, the Democrats played elsewhere and Pacheco had more than enough of his own money to close the deal. Still,

THE 1999 ROSTERS



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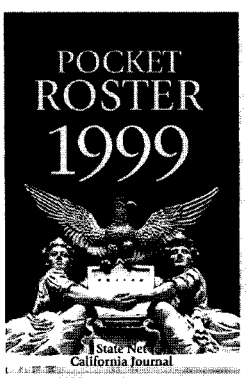

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a look at the final tally suggests a stronger Democratic effort might have made the race a bit more interesting, as at least one poll showed Wong within striking range a week out. Given the demographic changes in the region, Democrats might take a closer look in two years, and will almost certainly get out their protractors at redistricting time to see if they can't draw something a bit more favorable.

District 61 (45% D - 38% R)

Soto (D)	**37,109**	**(56)**
DeMallie (R)	29,041	(44)

This Inland Empire district has been in Republican hands since the 1991 reapportionment, held for most of that time by termed-out incumbent Fred Aguiar. But even the popular Aguiar, recently elected a San Bernardino supervisor, did not win by overwhelming margins, making the district ripe for a competitive race in 1998. Democrats nominated Nell Soto, the vice mayor of Pomona, while Republicans countered with Bob DeMallie, a member of the Cucamonga School Board. Soto, 72, is the widow of Phil Soto, who represented the area in the Assembly back in the 1960s. The district itself is split, with a sliver of it in Los Angeles County and the bulk of it in San Bernardino County. It is mostly working class, with a smattering of wealth in places such as Chino Hills, and boasts a growing Latino population. In past statewide elections, it mostly has supported Republican candidates, but the electorate is not lockstep conservative, which worked to the detriment of DeMallie — who is. Soto, who hails from the L.A. portion, used the early campaign to build positive name recognition in San Bernardino County with a series of mailers that fostered her image as a fiscal conservative who is tough on crime but a social progressive interested in education. DeMallie, meanwhile, attacked Soto as a liberal, tax-and-spend Democrat — a message that polls showed did not resonate much with voters in 1998 and which Soto was able to deflect by citing her record on the Pomona council. Soto then hit back, calling attention to the ultra-conservative folks who bankrolled DeMallie; notably, the California Independent Business PAC and Howard Ahmanson Jr. She also hammered on DeMallie's record as a school trustee, reminding voters that he had been the subject of an attempted recall. Although her race was not a front-burner contest for Assembly Democrats, they did wade in with sizable cash donations over the last eight days, allowing Soto to keep up a relentless mail campaign. Native-American tribes also backed her heavily after she endorsed Proposition 5. Finally, she was helped by the fact that her race was clustered with important state Senate and congressional contests, which fueled get-out-the-vote efforts throughout this portion of the Inland Empire. In the end, DeMallie proved far too conservative for the district. If Republicans learned a lesson from his candidacy, it is that the district requires a contender who can at least see the center if not cleave to it.

District 62 (58% D - 28% R)

Longville (D)	**36,353**	**(65)**
Escobar (R)	19,942	(35)

At the outset, Republicans thought they might have a shot in this San Bernardino County district, previously held by termed-out Democrat Joe Baca. But this was not a year when Republicans were going anywhere in a district with a 30-point registration deficit. Longville, who previously lost his only other bid for the Legislature, was in such good shape that he gave money to other Democratic candidates and to the caucus. He comes to Sacramento with chits in hand.

District 63 (40% D - 45% R)

Leonard (R*)	**67,532**	**(72)**
Lindberg (L)	26,610	(28)

A bad day all around for former Minority Leader Bill Leonard. Ever the gentleman, Leonard took the blame for his caucus's poor showing and voluntarily resigned shortly after Election Day. The conservative Leonard, who previously served in both the Assembly and Senate, remains one of the Legislature's most experienced and respected veterans.

District 64 (40% D - 45% R)

R.Pacheco (R*)	**64,175**	**(100)**

Rod Pacheco's competitive season began after Election Day when he put together the votes to become minority leader. A former Riverside County prosecutor, he is regarded as combative and partisan yet won with the backing of moderates. Given that his caucus has dwindled to 32 members, he will quickly have to reach an accord with Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa or risk seeing his entire caucus marginalized. A Latino, his selection gives the caucus an aura of diversity at a time when his party desperately needs to mend its image among ethnic voters.

District 65 (39% D - 46% R)

Quinto (D)	38,728	(40)
Granlund (R*)	**55,974**	**(57)**
Renteria (NL)	3,104	(3)

Yucaipa's Brett Granlund won his third and final Assembly race, but his political future is clouded by the fact that he is nested in the Senate district now held by Republican Jim Brulte, who is not termed out until 2004.

District 66 (32% D - 53% R)

Hockersmith (D)	48,047	(39)
Thompson (R*)	**77,565**	**(62)**

Bruce Thompson won an impressive victory, given how Republicans elsewhere fared. A conservative infighter not given to compromise, Thompson now is termed out but will have to cool his heels for a few years waiting for Ray Haynes to be termed out of his Senate seat in 2002. Of course, the new minority leader, Rod Pacheco, also is nested in Haynes' district, so the byplay between the two ought to be interesting.

District 67 (33% D - 50% R)

Fennell (D)	42,839	(37)
Baugh (R*)	**65,696**	**(58)**
Browne (L)	5,685	(5)

Getting thrown out of office by his Orange County constituents in Huntington Beach and Costa Mesa has never been a worry for Scott Baugh. But getting thrown out on account of felony violations of campaign law has been, ever since his election in the 1995 recall of GOP renegade Doris Allen. Orange County District Attorney Michael Capizzi has been doggedly pursuing Baugh the past three years on charges that he lied on his campaign-finance reports, but that pursuit may end now that Capizzi, a failed GOP candidate for state attorney general, will be leaving office in January. The incoming DA — Tony Rackauckas — enjoys the backing of the Orange County conservative leadership that has been highly critical of Capizzi, and some of Baugh's critics fear Rackauckas will drop the charges against the assemblyman once he takes command.

District 68 (39% D - 43% R)

Matsuda (D)	34,752	(46)
Maddox (R)	**40,382**	**(54)**

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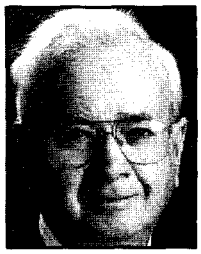
Had teacher Mike Matsuda run a stronger campaign, Democrats might have taken a serious shot at this open Orange County seat, which covers parts of Garden Grove, Buena Park and Anaheim. The fact that Democrats would even consider looking at the seat held by former Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle, who ran for state treasurer because of term limits, may seem surprising. But the nearby congressional imbroglio between Representative Loretta Sanchez and Bob Dornan caused trouble for Republicans in the area, including Ken Maddox. The election of the 34-year-old Tustin police officer and Garden Grove city councilman was supposed to be a no-brainer after Maddox won a tough primary against four GOP opponents. But with half of the district nested within the 46th Congressional District, Republicans were forced to add Maddox to their watch list. The state GOP also came in late on Maddox's behalf with an independent expenditure to shore up things. As for Assembly Democrats, they did toss $20,000 into Matsuda's grass-roots effort after their polling showed Maddox within striking distance.

District 69 (52% D - 32% R)		
Correa (D)	**22,810**	**(54)**
Morrissey (R*)	17,990	(43)
Schultz (L)	605	(1)
Benson (RF)	627	(2)

If one is considering what to get Jim Morrissey for Christmas, consider a dartboard with Bob Dornan's face on it. In a small district with lots of Latino voters (30,000 out of 78,000 registered voters), the last thing Morrissey needed was the firebrand ex-congressman and his anti-Latino reputation running in the same area. But run Dornan did, which helped galvanize the Latino vote and send it Lou Correa's way. It would be hard to fault Morrissey for losing, and he certainly didn't go down without a fight. For the last year, Morrissey spent his weekends walking neighborhoods and knocking on doors — 17,000 at last count — and used his rudimentary Spanish to address Latino households. He also was successful in bringing home the pork for projects in Santa Ana and Anaheim. Morrissey was criticized, though, by Democrats for trying to moderate his conservative image, which began after he narrowly won reelection against Correa in 1996 by 93 votes. Whereas in the past he had

Correa


Morrissey

supported the anti-illegal immigrant initiative, Proposition 187, and anti-affirmative action initiative, Proposition 209, Morrissey opposed this year's Proposition 227, which eliminated bilingual education in California schools. He also softened his approach on labor issues to try and win favor among blue-collar Democrats. Given the overwhelming registration advantage Democrats enjoy in the district, Morrissey had little choice but to try and re-craft himself as a moderate. And it appeared through most of the campaign that he was headed for re-election, after GOP polling showed him up by 20 points. But things tightened considerably in the closing weeks, as Correa flooded district mailboxes with pieces touting his pro-education, pro-HMO reform, pro-labor message.

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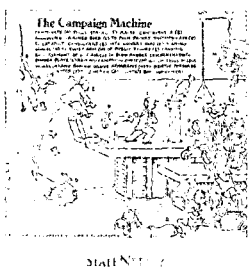

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Correa, 40, also presented himself as a fresher, younger alternative to Morrissey, 68, whose efforts to reinvent himself were attacked as insincere. And unlike the '96 election, when Correa was left mostly to fund his own campaign, Assembly Democrats came in late with $330,000 to help offset the money advantage Morrissey enjoyed through mid-October. Of course, a large chunk of Morrissey's money came from GOP caucus members, but what Republicans couldn't do for him was get their people to the polls. Historically, the 69th sees a dramatic drop in Democratic turnout in gubernatorial elections, but that wasn't the case this time, thanks to a concerted Democratic get-out-the-vote effort utilizing 800 volunteers. In fact, Republican turnout was down, thanks to the poor performance of Dan Lungren, who received fewer votes in the district than Morrissey.

District 70 (29% D - 53% R)

Brewer (R*)	**79,154**	**(77)**
Adam (NL)	23,238	(23)

Marilyn Brewer was one of three Orange County Republicans—the other two being Bill Campbell and Dick Ackerman — whose safe-seat status made raising money for vulnerable Republicans their top concern. Of the three, Brewer came in first place with $310,000.

District 71 (27% D - 57% R)

Badger (D)	33,496	(28)
Campbell (R*)	**82,507**	**(69)**
Bryant (NL)	3,253	(3)

Second place went to Bill Campbell, with $290,000.

District 72 (31% D - 53% R)

Legas (D)	30,883	(30)
Ackerman (R*)	**70,265**	**(67)**
Meierding (L)	2,953	(3)

And third to Dick Ackerman, with $200,000.

District 73 (29% D - 51% R)

Wilberg (D)	30,281	(30)
Bates (R)	**68,223**	**(66)**
Rollins (L)	3,398	(3)
Ornati (NL)	1,383	(1)

Democrat Robert Wilberg never had any illusions about beating Laguna Niguel Mayor Patricia Bates in this very Republican seat. So give him credit for just showing up.

District 74 (30% D - 49% R)

Fitzgerald (D)	44,729	(39)
Kaloogian (R*)	**65,916**	**(57)**
Dorsey (L)	2,405	(2)
Gentsch (NL)	2,707	(2)

Howard Kaloogian is so rigidly conservative that he had little impact on the Assembly even when Republicans controlled the house. Today, if you look in the dictionary under the word "marginalized," you'll find Kaloogian's picture.

District 75 (29% D - 50% R)

Debus (D)	34,341	(28)
Zettel (R)	**79,218**	**(64)**
Tello (L)	6,009	(5)
Cowling (NL)	3,618	(3)

Newcomer Charlene Zettel is the first Latina ever to join the Assembly Republican Caucus. A pro-choice moderate with a background in education, she won this seat in June by defeating a pair of conservative men. She succeeds Republican Jan Goldsmith, who was termed out.

District 76 (41% D - 37% R)

Davis (D*)	**70,092**	**(65)**
Admire (R)	34,084	(32)
Teyssier (L)	3,145	(3)

Two-term incumbent Susan Davis ran 24 points ahead of Democratic registration. Her opponent, lawyer Duane Admire, ran 5 points behind GOP registration. A metaphor for Election '98.

District 77 (39% D - 42% R)

Carlson (D)	37,838	(39)
Baldwin (R*)	**56,498**	**(58)**
Meyers (L)	3,369	(3)

If Steve Baldwin has any political ambitions beyond the Assembly, he will quickly need to moderate his image as a right-wing ideologue. Termed out in 2000, Baldwin will have to wait two years to make a run for the Senate, where he is nested with Democrat Denise Ducheny in a Senate district now held by Democrat Steve Peace.

District 78 (38% D - 39% R)

Wayne (D*)	**65,420**	**(57)**
Roesch (R)	44,393	(39)
Murphy (L)	3,544	(3)
Knoles (NL)	2,227	(2)

This was supposed to be one of the most competitive Assembly races in the state, where long-frustrated Republicans finally were poised to put this San Diego enclave in their column. That it

Wayne

Roesch

didn't turn out that way is attributable to a variety of factors. At the outset, it appeared Republicans had produced the ideal candidate in Jean Roesch, a moderate, pro-choice woman with strong credentials in education — a GOP clone of Independent Lucy Killea and Dede Alpert, a Democrat who previously held the district. On the key issues of education and abortion, Roesch and freshman incumbent Democrat Howard Wayne differed only at the margins; Wayne, for instance, opposes school vouchers, while Roesch would grant them to the poor. Their chief area of contention concerned the environment, always a hot topic in coastal districts. Wayne touted his perfect ranking from the League of Conservation Voters, while Roesch complained that too many environmental regulations hindered developers — a group that includes her husband. Issues aside, Roesch turned out to be not so ideal as a candidate. According to observers, she had trouble answering questions in forums and betrayed a fatal lack of substantive knowledge, even on issues involving education. Wayne, guided by Sacramento consultant Gale Kaufman, mostly left Roesch alone, focusing on his own experience and arguing in ads and in clever TV spots that the district would be better served by someone who didn't require on-the-job training. Eventually, Roesch — like Republicans elsewhere — was done in by the nature of an election that saw voters satisfied with incumbents. There also is some evidence that Assembly Republicans may have stopped funding her effort after internal polls showed her trailing badly two weeks before the election. For instance, she put out little mail during the final, critical week when many voters made up their minds. In the end, Roesch captured much of the Republican base but failed to make inroads among independent voters, who make up nearly 16 percent of district registration.

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District 79 (54% D - 24% R)		
Ducheny (D*)	**39,450**	**(77)**
Kinz (R)	12,179	(24)

Republican Carl Kinz brought home the Republican base. Two-term incumbent Democrat Denise Ducheny, brought home everybody else.

District 80 (45% D - 39% R)		
Acuna (D)	36,937	(41)
Battin (R*)	**50,063**	**(56)**
Weber (L)	3,342	(4)

Republican Jim Battin's political future may lie in the Senate. He is termed out in 2000, as is GOP Senator Dave Kelley, in whose district Battin is nested. But also waiting there is Republican Jan Goldsmith, who was termed out of the Assembly in 1998 and has two years to campaign for the job — provided he wants to return to the Legislature.

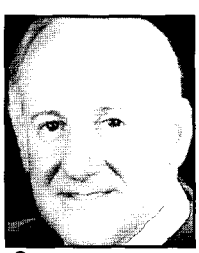
Supreme Court

Sometimes your enemy turns out to be your best friend. Just ask Chief Justice Ronald George.

The last time George was on the state ballot, in 1994, hardly anyone noticed. With no campaign either for or against him, he won retention with only a 57 percent majority.

This year, as chief justice, George was under attack by anti-abortion forces, angered by his ruling that overturned a parental consent law for minors' abortions. They vowed to mobilize a grass-roots army to unseat George and Justice Ming Chin, who joined the 4-3 decision.

Chin


George

But George responded with a vigorous campaign and won a 75 percent majority. Chin got 69 percent, compared to 56 percent when he won retention as an appellate justice in 1994. With unopposed Justices Stanley Mosk and Janice Rogers Brown winning 70 and 76 percent votes respectively, the court received its strongest public support since 1974, when the average majority was over 74 percent.

The 1978 1982 and 1986 elections saw the challenge and eventual defeat of Chief Justice Rose Bird and other Jerry Brown appointees. Although the court faded from the political spotlight after that, the justices' majorities didn't return to historic levels until 1998, the first time any justice since Bird faced an opposition campaign.

How did it happen?

"We didn't have enough money to get our message out," said Mike Spence, a California ProLife Council vice president and spokesman for the opposition, called Citizens for Judicial Integrity. The campaign reported raising only $40,000, compared to $700,000 each for George and Chin.

But they didn't seem concerned about getting their message out, operating on the dubious premise that they started with the 43 percent who voted against George in 1994 and could muster the rest by mobilizing religious conservatives. The usual tactics of underfunded campaigns to reach the public through the press were absent: There were no faxes denouncing George's latest ruling or fund-raising excess, no news conferences with court critics, not even a press release when the campaign produced its single radio ad, which ran mostly on religious stations.

Mosk

Brown

The campaign had a brief chance to broaden its base when a group of conservative legislators called for the state Republican Party to oppose George and Chin. But that plan was brushed aside by party leaders, who recognized both abortion and the court as no-win issues and had little incentive to create court vacancies for the next governor.

The two justices, meanwhile, were blanketing the state with paid slate mailers, locking up endorsements from law enforcement and businesses, and winning editorial support from newspapers throughout the state. The editorials raised voter awareness of the election and echoed the campaign message: these are solid, mainstream jurists under assault by single-issue extremists.

Just as important were two changes in election laws, which George helped engineer. One eliminated a previous reference in the ballot to the length of court terms, which was found to depress the support for justices seeking full 12-year terms. The other was the inclusion in a state ballot pamphlet of each justice's career history, minus such potentially dangerous information as the name of the appointing governor. As Spence observed, it was like a free statewide mailer, with no space for the opposition.

George, who acknowledged that his opposition had been one of his biggest selling points, said on election night that he'd wanted to win decisively "to discourage people from taking on my other colleagues four years and eight years from now."

Though the current court is clearly no pushover at the polls, its next member — Governor Gray Davis' first appointee, the first by a Democratic governor since 1983 — may not be as safe in 2002. Without the cops, DAs and CEOs who inoculated George and Chin from conservative attack, the new justice probably shouldn't wait long before hiring a campaign consultant, and finding the right kind of enemy.

— Bob Egelko

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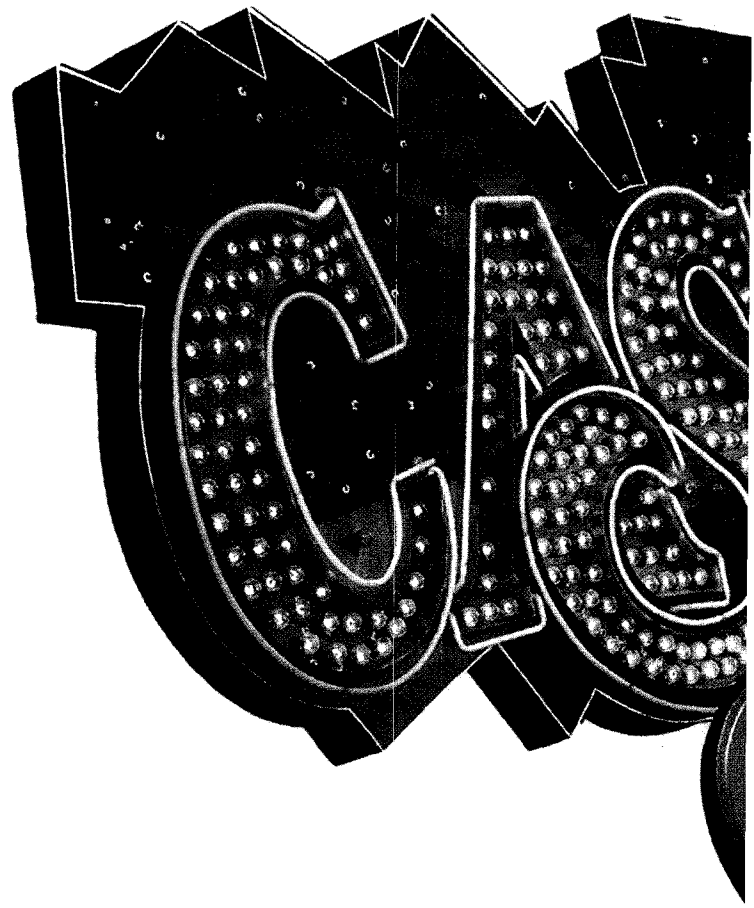
A gamble that

By pumping stunning sums into Proposition 5, Indian tribes feed the "California nightmare" to buy their share of the American Dream.



When it came to the November election, Proposition 5 was the Mark McGwire of ballot initiatives — this year's heavy hitter. It shattered all existing records, enlivened the electorate, covered all the media bases and left even its staunchest opponents awestruck by its power.

That power was unleashed in the most massive spending ever seen for a statewide ballot measure, not just in California but in the entire country. The final tally from both sides is expected to reach nearly $100 million.

Voters faced an unprecedented barrage of TV spots, a blitz of radio ads and a paper blizzard of mailbox material that continued right up until Election Day.

"It saturated the market. More people were aware of Prop. 5 than were aware of who was running for governor,"

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paid off

said Allen Hoffenblum, a political consultant watching from the sidelines.

In essence, the battle over Proposition 5 boiled down to a contest of Indian casino money vs. Nevada casino money.

For Nevada casino owners, Proposition 5 raised the alarming prospect of expanded casino gambling in California that would siphon off gamblers who'd otherwise head to Reno or Las Vegas.

For tribal casino owners, Proposition 5 represented an opportunity to continue running the lucrative video slot machines that have brought their people enormous prosperity. Now a $1.4 billion annual industry, California's Indian gaming has brought electricity, schools, housing and stability to tribes that have lived on the margins. Without Proposition 5's gaming, tribal leaders contend, their members would return to welfare.

So they dug deep — spending nearly $70 million, more than double the $28 million contributed by Nevada — in an effort to hold onto their livelihood.

Even Proposition 5's opponents were stunned. Sitting in a KCRA-TV news office one afternoon, Steve Swatt, who worked the "no" side as executive vice president at Nelson Communications Group, spent a lunch hour watching a bank of TV monitors tuned to half-a-dozen different stations. In just a single 60-minute block of time, Swatt counted nine Yes-on-5 ads running on individual stations. The amount of paid political advertising represented in that one hour's worth was staggering.

"It was like going bodysurfing and being slammed by a 15-foot wave," said Swatt, speaking of the torrent of TV, radio, billboard and direct mail aimed at California voters by the Yes-on-5 side.

"It was a snowstorm from those guys and we were barely visible," said Jack Gribbon, spokesman for the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union, the primary labor group opposing Proposition 5.

Not that they didn't try to be visible. Although Nevada casinos footed the bill, the "No on Proposition 5" coalition was an unusual alliance of special interests, from racetrack owners to religious groups, labor to law enforcement. But they were united in their message that the initiative would lead to unregulated, untaxed, unlimited gambling that would trample workers' rights, ignore local environmental and property concerns, and exacerbate law enforcement issues.

But Nevada casino money proved no match for that of the Indians. The Indians won the jackpot with 63 percent of the vote.

Craig Holman, author of "Democracy by Initiative" and a Center for Government Studies researcher who has tracked California ballot initiatives for more than 20 years, called the overall spending "breathtaking" but at the same time "very distressing." From the $9 million spent by all sides on all initiatives in both the primary and general elections in 1976,

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the spending levels have swelled to an estimated $220 million this year — a whopping 2,400 percent increase, according to Holman.

"It's an awful thing. It just continues to spiral and I don't think it's going to stop," he said. Among Holman's colleagues in Europe, the phenomenon is known as "the California nightmare."

To Holman, the spending lavished on Proposition 5 is "a complete contradiction of what the grass-roots initiative process is all about."

But the tribes had more than just money. They had a message that touched a sympathetic chord with voters. They had a brilliant name: Californians for Indian Self-Reliance. And they had an effective spokesman in Mark Macarro, a media-savvy tribal chairman of the Pechanga Band of Luiseno Indians, who was everywhere: on radio, on TV, on press releases, on billboards.

"In terms of image, Macarro was important," said Swatt. "He was non-threatening and a human face on a problem that you could relate to. Everyone feels a great deal of guilt over what happened to Native Amerians over the centuries. He personalized it. "

As No-on-5 spokeswoman Gina Stassi acknowledged: "Our biggest challenge was to convey that it was OK to be sympathetic to Indians and still vote no."

It was a message that voters simply didn't buy.

Instead, exit polls showed they echoed the sentiments of Arselia Santos, a South Sacramento resident who said she voted for Proposition 5 because "I felt compassion for the Indians. They've been on the sidelines for so long. This is their chance to get part of the American dream."

Santos may well have been persuaded by a massive Yes-on-5 direct mail campaign aimed at 640,000 Latino households statewide, recipients of five pieces of bilingual mail — four of which landed in mailboxes the last 10 days of the campaign. Leo Briones, president of Centaur North Strategic Communications in Los Angeles, who created the $1 million campaign for the Yes-on-5 side, said it was the first time that Latinos were targeted statewide for direct mail.

Briones said the message to Latino voters, already repelled by Governor Pete Wilson's support for divisive ballot measures aimed at immigrants, was: "Do you want to be on the wrong side or the right side of history?" The brochures gave Latino voters a clear choice: siding with Wilson and Nevada casinos or with a list of some 300 Latino officials statewide said to back Proposition 5. "Together with voting for Gray Davis, this was their chance to voice their opposition to Pete Wilson and his leadership style," Briones said.

According to Briones, three different exit polls showed Latino voters did just that, favoring Proposition 5 by 75 to 80 percent.

The proposition itself was the result of a bitter stalemate between the governor and a handful of casino tribes who attempted for years to negotiate gaming compacts as prescribed by state and federal law. When Wilson and federal authorities insisted that the tribes' existing video slot machines were illegal and must be shut down, the tribes balked and negotiations broke down. Months later, Wilson announced a compact signed with the Pala Band of Mission Indians in San Diego County that placed strict limits on the number and style of gaming machines allowed on Indian lands. It required tribes to install a never-before-seen type of

lottery-style machine and limited each tribe to no more than 975 machines at any one casino. Outraged by what they called Wilson's "bad faith" efforts to negotiate and a compact they considered to be economic suicide, the state's 41 gaming tribes took their case to voters.

In the first of several spending records, they spent $8 million to qualify an initiative, gathering more than one million signatures of registered voters. Not only was their budget one for the record books but so was their time frame: They spent less than 30 days gathering signatures. They made, however, what many consider a crucial mistake that has already returned to haunt them.

Rather than seek a constitutional amendment, which would have required more signatures, they wrote their ballot measure simply as a state statute. Gambling, however, is covered under California's constitution, which declares casino-style gaming illegal. As expected, a lawsuit challenging the initiative as unconstitutional was announced the day after the election by No on Proposition 5 supporters.

Yes-on-5 spokeswoman Waltona Manion said the tribes have no regrets over not seeking a constitutional measure and believe that tribal attorneys who drafted the initiative did so correctly.

One initiative expert, however, contends they wasted an enormous amount of money. "The excessive spending that Indians did was unnecessary," said Holman. "If they're going to spend $8 million on signatures, it should have been a constitutional amendment that would have avoided this issue going to court."

But Manion believes those millions were not wasted. "When you're engaged in fighting for your very economic future, and the very survival of your people, you cannot afford to be outspent. The tribes had every expectation that Nevada casinos intended to throw their full weight into the effort to crush the initiative."

By the end, as tribes continued their spending spree, dropping more than $1.48 million into statewide campaigns in the last 10 days alone, the Nevada money machine fell silent. Several political consultants said it appeared they realized the battle was over. Furthermore, many expect Nevada casinos to reverse course and begin courting tribes in hopes of obtaining contracts to help Indians manage their future casino operations.

The No-on-5 folks were frustrated that no one sounded the alarm on the massive amount of spending. "If it'd been trial lawyers, tobacco, alcohol or insurance companies spending this kind of money, we'd be seeing front-page editorials decrying this," said Swatt.

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Cathy Christian, legal counsel for No-on-5, criticized California Common Cause for failing to protest the issue, saying "Their silence has been deafening. The Indians tried to buy an election."

But California Common Cause Executive Director Jim Knox said, "We were no more appalled by the huge spending from Indian tribes than we were by the huge contributions from Nevada casinos. They were equally alarming."

Regardless of where Proposition 5 winds up on constitutional grounds, it has succeeded in establishing California's tribes as a major player in the political landscape. No longer on the back bench, they are a major force to be respected and reckoned with. Manion said tribes are already looking ahead to being active in the year 2000 elections.

More important, she said, there is a shared vision among tribes, which was evidenced in September when several hundred members of 88 tribes met on a Colusa reservation to film a TV spot. According to Manion: "Never at any point in California history had 88 tribes ever gathered in one tribal location to declare their unity on an issue. It was really a remarkable, remarkable day."

Ironically, she said tribes have the governor to thank for their newfound unity. "The silver lining to Pete Wilson's obstinacy has been that he engendered an unprecedented level of tribal unity. So thank you, Governor."

— Claudia Buck

Ballot Propositions

Proposition 1A (School Bonds)		
Yes	**4,752,751**	**(63)**
No	2,867,837	(38)
Proposition 1 (Property taxes)		
Yes	**5,221,231**	**(71)**
No	2,131,907	(29)
Proposition 2 (Transportation funds)		
Yes	**5,370,660**	**(75)**
No	1,758,785	(25)
Proposition 3 (Presidential primary)		
Yes	3,337,732	(46)
No	**3,886,171**	**(54)**
Proposition 4 (Animal trap ban)		
Yes	**4,367,015**	**(58)**
No	3,237,140	(43)
Proposition 5 (Tribal gaming)		
Yes	**4,965,004**	**(63)**
No	2,983,073	(38)
Proposition 6 (Horsemeat sale)		
Yes	**4,548,281**	**(59)**
No	3,110,745	(41)
Proposition 7 (Air quality)		
Yes	3,225,146	(44)
No	**4,170,948**	**(56)**
Proposition 8 (Class-size reduction)		
Yes	2,834,647	(37)
No	**4,859,640**	**(63)**
Proposition 9 (Utility deregulation)		
Yes	2,018,783	(27)
No	**5,550,739**	**(73)**
Proposition 10 (Tobacco tax)		
Yes	**3,928,382**	**(51)**
No	3,862,890	(50)
Proposition 11 (Sales & Use tax)		
Yes	**3,794,420**	**(53)**
No	3,320,387	(47)

And now . . . the rest of the story

Topping the list of other props is **Proposition 1A**, which voters passed by a whopping 63 percent, saying it's time to put the public's money into the public's schools — even if it means taking on mountains of debt. Looking only at Election Day results, you'd never know that the $9.2 billion school bond was the apex of the year's most contentious statehouse power struggle. It was only after Assembly Speaker Anthony Villaraigosa, Senate President pro Tempore John Burton and the developers' lobby banged heads that the bond measure sailed through the Legislature *(see CJ, November 1998)*.

Proposition 1 also passed by a humongous margin — 71 percent — as voters favored allowing homeowners with contaminated property to retain their low pre-1978 property taxes if moving to another place.

Proposition 2 got the nod from an astounding 75 percent. It restricts the conditions under which state transportation funds may be loaned to the general fund.

Proposition 3 would have clamped shut the open primary in presidential contests — but it flopped, with 54 percent of voters preferring to retain their rights to cross over party lines while voting.

Proposition 4 outlawed the use of certain traps and poisons in hunting animals with 58 percent of the vote supporting it.

Proposition 6 was another favorite of animal lovers, fetching 59 percent of the vote in favor of banning the slaughtering of horses for human consumption.

Proposition 7 sought to set up a program under the state Air Resources Board to provide tax credits to those who invest in pollution-reducing equipment or practices. Voters sided with claims that the measure would benefit mainly big business and voted it down by 56 percent.

Proposition 8, a pet project of exiting Governor Pete Wilson, crashed as 63 percent of voters rejected its overly complex formula for education reform.

Proposition 9 fell victim to the voters' conventional wisdom: When in doubt, vote it down — and there was plenty of confusion over how this measure would affect Californians' utility bills. It perished, with 73 percent voting against the measure.

Proposition 10 was a cliffhanger to the end but squeaked by despite the millions that tobacco interests spent trying to extinguish it. The measure barely passed, with the backing of 51 percent favoring boosting the cost of a pack of cigarettes to fund early child-development programs.

Proposition 11, more fallout from 1978's Proposition 13, allows local governments to voluntarily enter into sales tax revenue-sharing agreements. More than 53 percent of the voters liked this idea.

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Washington Notes

perspective

By Marc Sandalow

A Democratic stronghold

Besides good seafood and disappointing football teams, what do California, Maryland and Hawaii have in common? They are the only states in the union where both Senate seats, the governorship, and both houses of the Legislature are controlled by Democrats. California emerged from the November election as the nation's preeminent Democratic stronghold. Not even Massachusetts, home to Ted Kennedy and John Kerry and a proud reputation as the only state that went for George McGovern in 1972, can compete with California's lineup of Dianne Feinstein-Barbara Boxer-Gray Davis.

As the 20th century comes to a close, Democrats across the country are using California as an example of everything they have done right, and the emerging conventional wisdom is that it will remain in Democratic hands for years to come.

"Have Republicans essentially ceded California to the Democrats?" CNN anchor Bernard Shaw matter-of-factly asked Representative David Dreier (R-San Dimas) shortly after the election. "No," responded an incredulous Dreier.

There are limits to the Democratic euphoria. Republicans, while enduring a historic beating nationally, actually gained a House seat in California. And the state's most powerful representatives in Washington, Dreier and Representative Chris Cox (R-Newport Beach), advanced themselves to positions of national prominence. Dreier will chair the powerful House Rules Committee, while Cox made a bid for speaker that, while unsuccessful, should enhance his already substantial clout.

Still, the GOP's beating in California was the toast of Democrats across the nation. Dan Lungren, the man whom the conservative *National Review* magazine dubbed the "Great Right Hope," received fewer votes in Los Angeles County than Sheriff Sherman Block, who was dead. Senator Barbara Boxer, whom *National Journal* ranked as the nation's "most liberal" and whom Bob Dole once panned as the "most partisan" senator, trounced her opponent by painting him as an extremist. And Gray Davis, in whom the White House had so little confidence that President Bill Clinton pleaded with Feinstein to enter the gubernatorial race, scored an easy victory to become the most prominent Democratic governor in the nation — and if not for George W. Bush of Texas and Jesse "The Body" Ventura of Minnesota, the most prominent governor of all.

Crowed Democratic National Committee co-chairman Steve Grossman: "I cannot overstate the importance of this extraordinary victory in California to the prospects for Democrats both in the 2000 presidential campaign and in terms of redistricting."

Democrats are giddy about California on several levels.

• *Senate 2000.* Who's going to challenge Feinstein? Fong's collapse revealed a critical weakness on the GOP bench. Cox and Dreier both passed on the Senate race because they did not want to give up their House seats to, at best, become a freshman senator. That will not change in 2000 unless it is apparent that Democrats will regain control of the House. There are other capable candidates. Silicon Valley Congressman Tom Campbell — accomplished, erudite and well positioned in the political mainstream — would like to be a senator, but conservatives would likely block his nomination.

• *President 2000.* There is no better start to winning a state's electoral votes than winning the governorship. California, with 54, constitutes 20 percent of what it takes to win the presidency. If the Feinstein-Boxer-Davis team has any popularity in the year 2000, it will be an invaluable tool for the Democratic candidate.

Although Californians have been atop four of the past five winning Republican presidential tickets, it is hard to imagine such a scenario this time. Lungren, who was promoted as a potential vice presidential candidate in 1996, is out of the picture, and Wilson was done no favors by his party's dismal Election Day performance. *Campaign & Elections* magazine lists Wilson's odds of winning the party's nomination as 100-1.

If there is a bright spot for Republicans, it may be found in the numerous election post-mortems that placed blame on Wilson and the California GOP's poor standing among Hispanics. That leaves open the possibility that a new Republican face — say, Texas' Bush, who is popular among Hispanics — could be quite competitive.

• *Redistricting.* Potentially the biggest benefit comes after the 2000 elections, when Democrats redraw the state's legislative boundaries. Unless the unimaginable happens, and Republicans win control of the Legislature in two years, Democrats will control both halves of the redistricting equation. The last time Democrats had control of both legislative chambers and the governor's seat was in 1980, when the lines were so strategically drawn that it was said one northern district was contiguous only when the tide was out.

This time, California stands to gain between one and four new congressional districts, giving it as many as 56. Davis claims he has no interest in taking political advantage of redistricting, which is like a dog swearing off bones. Most experts believe a skilled Democratic gerrymander could effect at least half a dozen seats — the difference between a Republican speaker and Democratic House speaker.

Democrats are still rejoicing over California's election. They have grown accustomed to dominating Maryland and Hawaii. California is a much larger pot of gold.

Marc Sandalow is the Washington Bureau Chief for the San Francisco Chronicle. *Comments on this column may be e-mailed to edit@statenet.com.*

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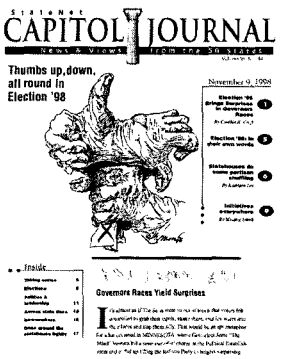

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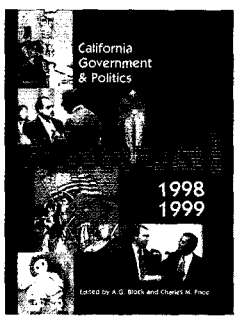

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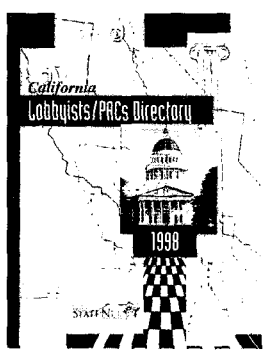

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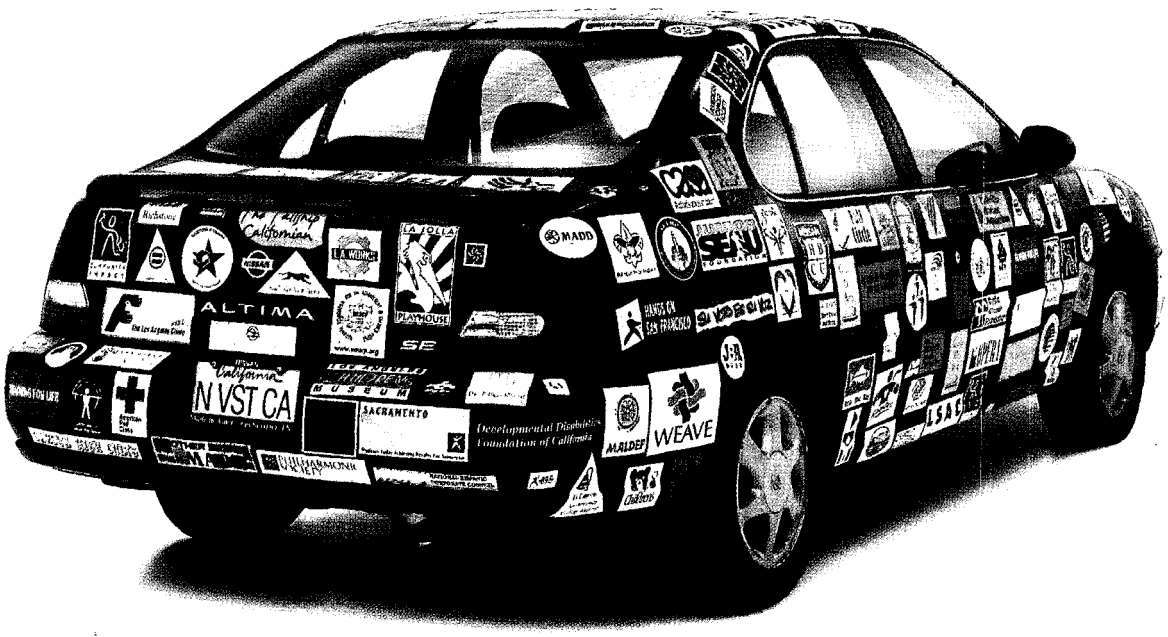

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